Ka koe fatongia oe Tui Matahau, ae mee fakamotu Liki; moe tofi oe tee lupe;[8] oku fai ae mee, oka fai ae fakamalele o ha Langi, pe ha mea fakaeiki, pea fai ae tofi oe tee lupe, oka fai ae vae oe Langi.

Pea koe fatongia oe Tui Talau, ke ne tufa ae koloa, moe ngaue, o ha mea fakaeiki oku fakailo mai, mei ha fonua, ae vae oe Langi, pe ko ha mea fakaeiki; pea koe kamata oe tufa koia, ihe aho, nae tala mai ai, ae mea kuo fai. E ngatai he aho e fakamalele ai ae mea kcia; koe fakafeangai ae haa tufunga, oku ihe tufa ae taha kehe, oku fakafeangai.

539 643 644 [535] [764]

The duties of the Tui Matahau, consist of (1) the dance like they do at Liki Island; (2) the digging dance; (3) the dance at the finishing feast at the funeral of the Tui Tonga, and after the funeral of the Tui Tonga.

643 644 764 539

The duties of Tui Talau are the allotting of goods and of work at a chief's funeral when is reported, from some island, that the funeral of the Tui Tonga, or any other chief is to take place. The commencement of the allotting begins on the day on which it is reported what has happened. Those duties will terminate at the finishing feast after the funeral; and the work of the undertakers is to be managed by someone else.

Pea koe fatongia oe Tui Amanave. Pea toki hau aipe ae kakai oe otufonua, kia teia, pea vahe ki toomatau mo toohema, pea vahe atu takitaha hono fatongia.

Koe fatongia o Lehauli, koe veka, oku pulou o ki fakaveka, moe mea e taha. Oku takitaha ilope e he faahinga a honau fatongia.

Koe fatongia o Uhatafe, koe ta nafa, moe kai oe toenga taumafa.

Koe fatongia o Lehapoto, koe fauvaka moe. . . .

Pea koe fatongia oe faahinga e taha, koe uluvali.

Pea toki tufa takitaha ae fatongia ki he kau Falefa.

643 644 539

The duties of the Tui Amanave. The people of the different islands shall come to him, and they will be divided some to the right and some to the left, and each shall be given his duty.

The duty of Lehauli [matapule to the Tui Amanave] is to imitate the rail, and he shall cover his head and cry like a rail. Each knows the duties that are his.

The duty of Uhatafe is the striking of the drum, and the eating of the remains of the Tui Tonga's food.

The duty of Lehapoto is the making of ships. . . .

The duty of some persons is to be sacrificed at the burial of the Tui Tonga. [764]

Thus were allotted the duties to the Falefa. [782]

Tungi's account then proceeds to detail the appointment of Takalaua's other officers, apart from the Falefa.

Pea toki tufa ae fatongia ki he faahinga koeni: Koe fatongia o Paku, koe pulei oe kau toutai vaka oe Tui Tonga, koe toutai Tonga ia.

Koe Tui Faletahi, oku ne pulei ae toutai vaka kotoa, moe toutai ika.

Pea koe fatongia o Hele mo Monuafe, koe kupenga ki he fuke aho.

Then the duties of the following persons were assigned: The duty of Paku is to rule the Tui Tonga's navigators, and he is called "the navigator of Tonga."

The Tui Faletahi [apparently Paku] is the one that governs all the navigators of sailing vessels and the fishermen.

And the duty of Hele and Monuafe is fishing with the net for the "opening day."

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[8] *Tee lupe* is literally "pigeon excrement." This is perhaps a euphemistic term for the ceremony of removing human excrement from the Tui Tonga's tomb, as described by Mariner (41, vol. 2, pp. 215-220).

Uluakimata I (Telea), who resided for a time on Euakafa Island, Vavau, 643
is said to have had other residences in that group (26, p. 37). In 1781 the 648
Tui Tonga Pau entertained the Spanish explorer Maurelle in the Vavau 175
group. During the troubled times of Mariner's sojourn, the Tui Tonga 484
Fuanunuiava also resided there.

The stories about the Tui Tonga Takalaua tell of him beating the drum 643
for dances which appear to have been for pleasure rather than ceremony 175
(26, p. 65). Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 285) speaks of Pau dancing, and La- 535
billardière (37, vol. 2, p. 158) mentions the participation of either Maulu-
pekotofa or Fuanunuiava in dances, indicating that the Tui Tonga unbent
more or less to their subjects.

The assassination of several Tui Tonga is said to have led ultimately 643
to the delegation of certain temporal functions by Kauulufonua I to his 687
brother Moungamotua, whom he established as Tui Haa Takalaua. However, 682
according to Samoan tradition (36, vol. 1, p. 304) either Kauulufonua I or
his successor Vakafuhu was assassinated. Thereafter there is no record of
assassinations.

It is made evident by many tales and by the long list of illegitimate chil- 643
dren that the Tui Tonga could command the person of any woman of 833
lower rank. [848]

Two versions of a story about a Tui Tonga and a woman named Ate are current in the island of Nomuka, Haapai—one makes Ate the Tui Tonga's wife, the other his daughter. Both versions indicate that the Tui Tonga, whoever he was, was visiting his domains beyond the bounds of Tongatabu.

One version of the story runs as follows (see page 78 for the other):

> The woman Ate was not a chief's daughter, but was the beautiful daughter of a man of Haafeva Island who was named Fauolo. Ate had already borne a child, by a man she was not living with, at the time the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka.
>
> All of the women of Nomuka came to see the Tui Tonga and, being evening, set fire to dried young coconut husks (*toume*). When the fire was lighted, the Tui Tonga fancied Ate, so he instructed the other women to extinguish the fire and depart. Normally the fire was kept burning all night when the Tui Tonga visited Nomuka. The Tui Tonga and Ate slept together. The Tui Tonga must have lived long in Nomuka for he died there and was buried in the Langi Atea. Ate was buried in a mound called Takahili Pakisi which lies in the modern village of Nomuka. She is the only person buried there, so report says.

The Tamaha genealogical records state that Ate, a Samoan woman, mar- [173]
ried Fauolo of Haafeva Island. Their daughter was Talitulelu, who married
Fiunoa of Haafeva Island. Their daughter Ate became the wife of the
sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga.

A Samoan tale (36, vol. 1, pp. 343-348) refers to an island on which 643
an early Tui Tonga kept virgins who were destined for his harem. Two 595
examples of threatened burning alive of wives of the Tui Tonga are also 593

is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (26, p. 77), one version of which 622
specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates. 554

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou,* a Samoan 591 592
term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine.* Girls, classed as
taupoou, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore 535
finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed 291
and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might 276 574
sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling 252
was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as 356
in Samoa. 526

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which 831
in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as 551
a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If
manaia and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early
writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or 551
large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of 825
such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following 622
processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui,* the rubbing of the entire body with 554
chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with 302
a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice 565
a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the
skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping
in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants 515
chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material
with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to 261
eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of 826
her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded 622
by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats 554
and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her 285
upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness 516
or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa.* 622
After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were 513
tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was 516
834
554

To-day songs are composed for various occasions. At one entertainment, 538
I listened to a chorus comprised of about twenty girls who sang under the 533
direction of the bard, and accompanied the singing with graceful movements 535
of the head, arms, and body above the waist. During much of the performance the girls were seated. This corresponds with the statement of Father A. C. (46, p. xvi), who says in substance that

> To those songs they usually join bodily attitudes, hand clapping, or the accompaniment of instruments, etc. Besides the nafa—a wooden drum—and bamboos of many di- 538
> mensions, which are made to sound by striking them on the ground, there is a musical 533
> instrument, the fangufangu, a kind of bamboo flute of six holes, blown with the nose. 534
> The Pan-flute also is known, consisting of 8 or 10 reeds drawn together in parallel rows, but giving rather irregular notes.

To what extent these instruments were used as accompaniment to the songs and chants of the bards in ancient times I do not know. Cook gives [535]
an illustration in which the singing and dancing is accompanied by the pounding of bamboo cylinders vertically upon the ground. A mat was sometimes struck with sticks at the termination of verses as in the epic entitled "The voyage of Kae" (26, p. 145).

Father A. C. (46) says that "there is no gathering without war or his- 574
toric songs, or without meditative songs or dances." But I think that in mak- 533
ing this statement he does not include the *fono* (assemblage to hear a chief's 535
orders) and the ceremonial kava drinking. In connection with these I have 622
never heard of singing, though kava drinking may be preceded or followed 276
by an entertainment.

Tongans have a considerable vocabulary to designate bards and their 538
compositions. The terms *hiva* and *taanga* are used for songs in general; 192
tauaalo for a song or chant sung while paddling or doing other work; *fakanaanaa* for a lullaby (25, p. 6); and *lave* for a chant. In addition to the chant the Tongans also have the recitative, which they call *fakaniua*, a word which means "in the style of Niuatoputapu Island." Informants said the term was applied to poems in which big things, not small details, are portrayed. (See 26, p. 18.) The term *mau* denotes an epic poem, such as "The voyage of Kae." For the poets themselves the Tongans employ the words *mau* and *punake*.

Thomson (54, p. 378) characterizes Tongan poetry as "uninteresting in 538
that it generally treats of scenery and flowers, seldom of the drama of life, never of the drama of love"—a characterization which of course is purely subjective. The omission of the "drama of love" is particularly well brought out in one poem (16, p. 87), which is alleged to have been composed by a man who had hoped to marry a female Tui Tonga, but who was disappointed in this by the lady marrying a chief named Vuna. The poem, although addressed to the lady, contains not a single word of love, dwelling almost entirely upon the scenery, and upon recent political happenings.

The reply is given, "We, Motuapuaka and Lauaki; we have come in attendance on 585
Vaoloa" (or whatever may be the bridegroom's name). Then the maiden comes out,
and goes with the bridegroom, and this [untranslatable] invocation is uttered, "Tula-no 565
lomai-saiena, tietia i le tafaturema. Singano e tu'u, fa'a mumuni, sa pule mo sa manatu."
And they call the names of the bride and bridegroom, "Vaoloa e, Vaoloa e, Takala e,
Takala e," or whatever they may be. Individuals have more than one name, but the [551]
names used on this occasion are those that are held in esteem. Then they cry, "Mimisoe,
mimisoe, alaimafae, alaimafae, asapae, asapae," following this with a loud shout. Someone
keeps shouting, over and over again at the top of his voice, "ai, ai, ai, ai," until they
come to the bridegroom's house, where an abundance of food has been prepared. Kava 585
is drunk at the bridegroom's house, the bride being the president of the ceremony. If 565
Lauaki and Motuapuaka each has a daughter, the daughters distribute the kava, and 276
continue to perform this duty until the end of the marriage ceremonies. If Lauaki and 574
Motuapuaka have no daughters to do this, they themselves control the distribution. One 431
basket of food (*fono*) is brought to distribute with the kava, the remainder of the food
that has been prepared is taken to the bride's home. Every day there are presentations
of food and kava (*pongipongi*) until the marriage is completed [or this might be rendered,
until the marriage is held]. If the man is not wealthy the festival is held quickly, but
if he is illiberal it is delayed for a long time. [Meanwhile, of course, the stingy bridegroom
is obliged to entertain the guests.]

Part of the bridegroom's duties is to attend to the building of the *fale manavo*, 585
the house on, or near, the green (*malae*) where the marriage festivities are held, and 565
which serves as a dressing-room for the bride.

On the night before the day on which the marriage ceremony actually takes [276]
place, the bridegroom's sisters come with kava, and with some of the bride's people drink
kava on the *malae*. This is called *kaihaa malae*, stealing the green. The green is swept
beautifully clean. A chiefly man is brought to prepare the kava for the ladies.

Early in the morning the drum is beaten for the ceremony and the bride and bridegroom 585
are adorned in dresses provided by the bridegroom. The bride's dress is called 565
the *puke* (seized). It consists of one of the mats called *fihu*, two of the mats called 292
ngafingafi, and any specially fine or notable mat (*kie*) which is available for her to put
on. It is said that she has been "held" or "seized" with the fine mats. This dress is
the *vala fetaki*, dress of going hand in hand. The two go to a house on the *malae*,
where there is a great pile of native cloth, provided by the bridegroom, and cloth bound
round with the fine mat called *fihu*. This is the *epa* (a sort of bridal throne). They
then return to the dressing-room (*fale manavo*), and change their dresses, putting on
garments provided by the bride. In these fresh garments (called *vala toonga*, consisting
perhaps of one each of the mats known as *fihu* and *ngafingafi*), they go again
(presumably to the house where is the *epa*) without clasping of hands. When they
return this time the dress called *vakai* is put on the bride, and she goes, without the
bridegroom, to the house on the green, and sits on her throne. Here she is anointed 585
with turmeric (called the *vala vali*, dress of painting). Then the bridegroom's sister 565
utters an invocation, "May you bear children, yea even twins." Then the bridal kava [302]
is served, accompanied with large quantities of food. [276]

After that the drum is beaten for the native dance, and the woman goes and puts on [264]
other mats and returns and walks about. After the dance, the drum is beaten for the
couple dance (dancing in pairs). Then comes the night dance which lasts until dawn 585
of the next day. Sometime during the night the *piha pongipongi* is held, and the basket 565
of food is brought which is called *lomi piha*. It is portioned out. Food is also portioned 535
out to the dancers.

Is there anything that has not its food ceremony? Each food ceremony has its 585
meaning. The coconuts to be cooked are brought green and in bunches. This is the food 565
brought by the woman's party. The coconuts are gathered in bundles and the cooked 264
food is gathered in bundles. These are the special baskets of food: the *veifua*, which is

brought uncooked and is provided by the bride's people; the *vai*, also brought uncooked; 585
and the *umu manava*, which is cooked. 565

The second day of the marriage is the day of purification. The woman is bathed [264]
with candlenut as detergent and afterwards presides at her kava ring. Then her bundles [783]
of mats and native cloth are brought and disposed of as she desires. Then these games [524]
and dances are held: (1) *tafoe*, a game; (2) *lanumanga*, a game; (3) *meetuupaki*, a
dance. The third and last day of the rejoicings comprised: (1) *lave*, reciting and sing- [535]
ing of poetry; (2) dances: *laufola*, *meetuupaki*, and other dances; (3) and various [538]
games. [533]

DEATH

Burial seems to have been the only method of disposing of the dead in 764
Tonga. It seems possible that some embalmment was practiced in which
interment of the corpse was deferred several years. Collocott has sent me a [127]
note gleaned from the journal of an early Methodist missionary, now in the
keeping of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, which refers to the period from
1831 to 1837 and speaks of "a party celebrating *putu* (funeral) for a child
who died seven years ago, but whose corpse was not interred until last week,
which was the third and final mourning."

The body of a chief is anointed with scented oil, laid out in state, and [622]
fanned with a long-handled fly switch (*fue*) of coconut fiber. It was possibly
in connection with embalming that the undertaker (*haatufunga*) removed the
brains and apparently the intestines of the chiefly dead. Apparently, how-
ever, embalming was very rare in Tonga. The accounts of the burial of
great personages such as the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga given by
Wilson (65) and Mariner (40) give no hint of embalming or preservation
over long periods.

The undertakers of Tonga are of the matapule class and are appointed 767
like other matapule, great chiefs having as attendants during life the men 565
who will perform the funerary functions for them at death. The chief [622]
undertaker of modern Tonga is Lauaki, one of the two great matapule of
the Tui Kanokupolu. The Lauaki who functioned at the funeral of King
George II in 1918 was still living in 1921. He is chief of the Haa Tufunga [613]
or "Lineage of Undertakers." The first Lauaki (Maliepo) is reputed to
have been the paternal half brother of the first Tui Tonga, Ahoeitu, and to
have descended from the sky with him. Apparently the funeral duties of [644]
Lauaki are a development following his transfer from the Tui Tonga's court
to the courts of the Tui Haa Takalaua and Tui Kanokupolu. Lauaki seems
to have had no mortuary duties for the Tui Tonga, for whom this service
was rendered by the Tui Folaha.

Funeral matters were regarded as of great importance. In the court of [764]
the Tui Tonga a considerable number of matapule of the Falefa (p. 66) [644]
had special funerary duties to perform upon the death of the Tui Tonga.

likely that a relative would attend to it. Now relatives of the deceased dig 764
the grave, but the *haatufunga* supervises. Every funeral has its accompanying [565]
feasts and kava drinking. All who attend a funeral partake of [767]
the feast. At a chief's funeral the *haatufunga* officiate at the feast, giving [622]
out the food. The head of the largest pig goes to him. Food may be taken [767]
home after distribution or eaten at once. The feast is not in the house
where the deceased passed away, but nearby on the same premises. There [535]
is no dancing at the present day funeral feasts.

It is incumbent upon the family of the deceased to pay the *haatufunga* 767
with native wealth (*koloa*). A chief will have many fine mats and
tapa, which are used in payment. Ten, twenty, thirty, or sixty days elapse
before payment is made to the *haatufunga*. The reason for the intervals was
not given, except that the higher rank of the deceased, the longer the payment
is deferred, and the bigger the payment. Anciently non-payment by a
chief never occurred. Nowadays if no payment is made a lawsuit follows. [686]
Commoners, as well as people of rank, must pay, but no prearrangement of
the amount is made with either.

For ten, fifteen, or twenty days there are morning kava ceremonies and 765
small feasts following the big funeral feast. The *haatufunga* is present at 276
these. At the first of these kavas, two or more *haatufunga* have an argument 574
as to which of them is highest in rank—a purely formal traditional proceeding. 554 767

The funeral feast is called *feipulua*, the breakfast served by the family 764
of the deceased on the morning after the burial, *fakapongipongi;* the funeral 765
of a chief, *meafakaeiki*; the funeral of a commoner, *putu*.

The Female Tui Tonga managed the funeral of the Tui Kanokupolu 764
Mumui (66, p. 241), though doubtless the *haatufunga* officiated also. On this 643 768
occasion two of Mumui's widows were strangled. 644

Tradition says that occasionally a *haatufunga* was imprisoned in the vault 764
with the body of the chief or king he was interring (16, p. 77). At Houma, 767
Tongatabu, when the vault of the chief Vaea was opened in 1903 the skeleton 782
of a chief was found in proper position, lengthwise, and in one corner was
the skeleton of a *haatufunga* who had been shut in the vault.

Each adult individual had a mourning song, called *tangilaulau*, to be sung 765
at the obsequies of a relative or close friend. This song consisted of a 533
definite tune, a simple theme oft repeated, and a lament, also oft repeated,
extolling in a simple way the virtues of the dead and very tragically mourning
over his departure. Such a lament was permanent with each individual,
excepting for the interchange of such words as father and son, as occasion
demanded.

These songs began immediately after a death and continued, more or less
spasmodically, until the completion of all obsequies. They never were used

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth 266
Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is revealed 643
in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two 175
assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish [276]
for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. [687]
A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving [412]
alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal 000
god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a
Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and subsequent 535
writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given [114]
by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86) Some scraps of additional information
are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances 585
were performed: the *kailau*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small 535
paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian [177]
dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in
which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a
lakalaka. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the 533
queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent
famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a 538
poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made 533
in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, 123
wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke
extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference
was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor 517
of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished
by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About 535
twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside
the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, [292]
consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored
cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers [301]
were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the [302]
body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be
endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining
in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

often crossed and the turnings were made with a jump. In the other dance 535
one girl ended by slapping the under side of her legs with each step, making
a very effective finale.

The dances performed seated consisted entirely of movements of trunk,
hands, and head, usually accompanied by song. Behind the row of dancers [533]
was a chorus of eight or ten men with a skin-headed drum. The director [534]
and poet was a man. *Spectators showed their approval of the movements* [576]
of two girls by tying either a sash or a handkerchief around their left arms
while the dance was in progress.

Each variation of a sitting dance seems to have a name.

Tapueluelu, Mayor of Neiafu, Vavau, listed six dances, any of which [291]
might be used before war: *meetuupaki; lave; ulafakatonga; lakalaka,* modern form of *meetuupake; otuhaka,* woman's sitting dance; *mauluulu,* women in front, men in back standing at certain stages when moving their hands; *liku*[11] dance, in which only chief women took part, either nude or wearing only garlands and a very short *sisi* girdle of hibiscus or grass about the waist, and carrying small paddles.

No doubt the vocabulary in connection with entertainments was rich, but [192]
unfortunately I have only examples that hint at the probable wealth of terms; thus the word *fakapotu* means "pertaining to the two ends in a row of *lakalaka* or *mauluulu* dancers"; *longonafa* is the name of the special drum used in the old war dance called *meetuupaki; aafakihau* is a night festival (*katoanga*) at which recitatives (*lave*) are chanted, it also applies to singing inside the Tui Tonga's house at night for his entertainment.

The Tongan dictionaries give a number of terms for entertainments con- 517
cerning which I obtained no further information; for example, *ahohiva* (a 192
heathen festival), *eitu* (a heathen feast) equated by one informant to *kotoni, ola* (a heathen feast), *ufe* (a heathen play), *poula* (a heathen night dance), *pomee* (a night dance), *fakasinifa* (a heathen song of females only), *fakanukuatea* (a heathen song), *fakatau* (a heathen song), *fakatete* (a heathen feast), *hapai* (a present of food at the feast called *tautau*), *hea* (a heathen dance, a dance of chiefs), *lave* (a heathen game), *sipi* (a heathen dancer), *taumafafonua* (the last of several feasts and ceremonies), *tuaeitu* (a Tongan feast).

ETIQUETTE AND HABITS

The following notes cover miscellaneous acts which do not fit under the 576
other headings of this paper, yet which are of interest socially:

> They have a singular custom of putting everything you give them to their heads, by way of thanks. Very often the women would take hold of my hand, kiss it, and lift it to their heads. (18, vol. 1, p. 221; 30).
>
> Their mode of salutation is by touching their noses together; and, unlike the Ota-

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[11] Possibly this is a misspelling of *liki*. See page 67.

ties against the enemy. The bows and arrows 175
which before that period had been in use among 721
the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and 648
fitted rather for sport than war,—for the purpose of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the 175
fierce and warlike people of those islands,[A] however, 177
they speedily learned to construct bows 411
and arrows of a much more martial and formidable nature; and soon became acquainted with a better form of the spear, and a superior method of holding and throwing that missile weapon. They also imitated them by degrees in 175
the practice of painting their faces, and the use 177
of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce appearance, calculated to strike terror into the [714]
minds of their enemies. These martial improvements were in their progress at the time of Captain Cook's arrival, [579] but not in general practice; for having few or no civil dissensions among themselves, the knowledge of these things was confined principally to certain young chiefs and their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands.
Captain Cook describes some evolutions practised by the natives as being forms of war, and indeed they have that appearance; but they are to be considered rather as games and [721] [535] [524]
dances, which the Tonga people had learnt from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest 175
natives could give any account of their first dis- 648

A [The Fiji Islands--Analyst]

where he left her to have her mats taken off, 643
and her usual dress put on; after which she 585
amused herself in conversation with the women.
In the mean time a feast was prepared for the 262
evening, of pigs, fowls, yams, &c. and cava: 574
this was got ready on the *malái*, where, about 565
dusk, Tooitonga presiding, the company sat
down to receive their portions, which the generality
reserved to take home with them; the
lower orders, indeed, who had but a small quantity,
consumed theirs on the spot. After this 276
the cava was shared out and drunk. The mu- 533
sicians (if so they can be called) next sat down
at the bottom of the ring, opposite to Tooitonga,
in the middle of a circle of flambeaus, held
by men who also held baskets of sand to receive
the ashes. The musical instruments consisted 534
of seven or eight bamboos of different lengths
and sizes, (from three to six feet long) so as to
produce, held by the middle, and one end
being struck on the ground, different notes according
to the intended tune (all the knots
being cut out of the bamboo, and one end
plugged up with soft wood). The only other
instrument was a piece of split bamboo, on
which a man struck with two sticks, one in
each hand, to regulate the time. The music 643
was an accompaniment to dancing, which was 585
533
535

643 kept up a considerable time*. The dancing
585 being over, one of the old matabooles addressed
[533] the company, making a moral discourse on the
[535] subject of chastity,—advising the young men to
[565] respect, in all cases, the wives of their neigh-
bours, and never to take liberties even with
[831] an unmarried woman against her free consent.
The company then rose, and dispersed to their
respective homes. The bride was not present
at this entertainment. Tooitonga being ar-
rived at his house, sent for the bride, who im-
[202] mediately obeyed the summons. The moment
they retired together the lights were extin-
guished, and a man, appointed at the door for
the purpose, announced it to the people by
three hideous yells, (similar to the war whoop,)
which he followed up immediately by the loud
and repeated sound of the conch.

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* Their dances have already been described by Captain
[128] Cook and others, the account is therefore omitted here not
to interrupt the narrative: for further particulars see the
second volume.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 the people, who clapped their hands, whilst the
585 matabooles exclaimed *malíe! malíe!* (well done!
well done!). The young chiefs and their com-
634 panions from Hamoa, sung the following song,
585 beating time with their hands: it is in the lan-
533 guage of the Navigator's islands, and Mr. Ma-
177 riner does not understand the meaning of it; he
[191] was so much in the habit of hearing the Tonga people sing in that language, which they affect to admire, though very few understand what they sing, that he neglected to enquire the meaning of this song; but the words, or rather the syllables, (for it is hard to say whether they are divided quite right), he remembers perfectly well, as many of the people went about all the following night singing it, according to the custom at Hamoa: the song is as follows:

Láfe láfe é, láfe láfe é,
Láfe láfe é chiniláu;
Chi a my ta tó.
Oóa láo fía tála ou,
Móegnagnóngo é, Móegnagnongo é;
Toobó mo Laképa e, Toobó mo Laképa é.

Toobo Mo Lakepa was the name of one of the brides, who was a personage of greater rank than the other.

634 While this singing and these acclamations
585 were going forward, the prince led his brides
535
177

to the bottom of the *malái* with a slow and dig- 634
nified step, and then returned, amid the same 585
acclamations, into the house, and re-seated them 585
upon the bales of *gnatoo;* after which he com- 177
menced a dance on the *malai* with the young
chiefs, who had put on turbans. This dance
was also after the manner of the Navigator's
islands, and seemed to afford the people much
entertainment: in Mr. Mariner's opinion, there
was not so great an exhibition of agility as in
their own dances, but equally as much grace,
and somewhat more attitude. In the mean 634
time the brides were conducted to the residence 585
of the bridegroom. The dance being con- 574
cluded, the provisions were shared out: the
two larger portions were allotted, by Finow's
orders, to the new comers, (to be disposed of
afterwards as they thought proper): the next
largest was shared out to all foreigners, viz. na-
tives of Fiji, Hamoa, the island of Fotoona,
&c.; and the remaining heap, at an appointed
signal, was scrambled for by all who chose to
try their speed and dexterity. This last scene
afforded great diversion to all the spectators.
The baked pig on the top of the heap was soon
brought down, and pulled about in a most mi-
serable way; being torn piece-meal, and so co-
vered with sand and dirt as to be quite uneat-
able. The ceremony was now concluded by a 634
585
526

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

823 Oh! how much happier shall we be thus employed, than
533 when engaged in the troublesome and insipid affairs of life.
534 Now as night comes on, we must return to the *Moóa:*—but hark! - hear you not the sound of the mats?—they are practising a *bo-oóla* * to be performed to-night on the *malái* at *Tanéa;* let us also go there. How will that scene of rejoicing call to our minds the many festivals held there, before *Vavâoo* was torn to pieces by war. Alas! how destructive is war!—Behold! how it has rendered the land productive of weeds, and opened untimely graves for departed heroes! Our chiefs can now no longer enjoy the sweet pleasure of wandering alone by moonlight in search of their mistresses: but let us banish sorrow from our hearts: since we are at war, we must think and act like the natives of *Fiji,* who first taught us this destructive art. Let us therefore enjoy the present time, for to-morrow perhaps or the next day we may die. We will dress ourselves with *chi coola,* and put bands of white *tâppa* round our waists; we will plait thick wreaths of *jiale* for our heads, and prepare strings of *hooni* for our necks, that their whiteness may shew off the colour of our skins. Mark how the uncultivated spectators are profuse of their applause!—But now the dance is over: let us remain here to-night, and feast and be cheerful, and to-morrow we will depart for the *Mooa.* How troublesome are the young men, begging for our wreaths of flowers, while they say in their flattery, "See how charming these young girls look "coming from *Licoo!*—how beautiful are their skins, dif-"fusing around a fragrance like the flowery precipice of "*Mataloco:*"—Let us also visit *Licoo;* we will depart to-morrow.

134
241 The beautiful plantation, of which the above song is partly descriptive, is famed for the great fertility of its fields: the liberal hand of nature has there planted the bread-fruit and

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[535] * A kind of dance performed by torch-light.

ready prepared and cooked ; and also a consider- 765
able quantity prepared by Finow's own house- 634
hold: among these provisions was a good supply 574
of cava root. After the chiefs, matabooles, and 276
others, were all assembled, the provisions and
cava were served out in the usual way. During 765
this time no speech was made, nor did any par- 634
ticular occurrence take place. The company [537]
afterwards repaired each to his respective house,
and got ready for a grand wrestling-match and [526]
entertainment of dancing the Meë too Buggi [535]
(literally, the dance, standing up with paddles.
See second volume.)

During the intervals of the dances, several 765
matabooles, warriors, and others, ran before the 634
grave, bruising and cutting their heads with 304
clubs, axes, &c., as proofs of their fidelity to the late chief: among them, two boys, one about twelve, the other about fourteen years of age (sons of matabooles), made themselves very conspicuous in this kind of self infliction; the youngest in particular, whose father was killed in the service of the late chief, during the great revolution at Tonga, after having given his head two or three hard knocks, ran up to the grave in a fit of enthusiasm, and dashing his club with all his force against the ground, exclaimed, "Finow! why should I attempt "thus to express my love and fidelity towards

which his servants, without farther orders, take 651
away to his house, and the remainder is taken 796
away by Tooitonga's servants. It may seem [776]
strange that the latter has a smaller share than [793]
the king, but then he has not a quarter the number [643]
of dependents to divide it among.

The materials of the *Inachi* being removed,
the company form a regular cava party: some 651
cava root is brought and prepared, and a large 796
quantity of dressed victuals, perhaps a hundred 276
and fifty baskets-full; a small portion of which 574
is shared out to be eaten with the cava. While the infusion is preparing, a mataboole makes a speech to the people, stating, that as they have performed this important ceremony, the gods will protect them, and grant them long lives, provided they continue to pay due attention to religious ceremonies, and to pay respect to the chiefs. When the cava is finished, the circle separates, and the provisions are shared out to
each chief according to his rank. The day concludes 651
with wrestling, boxing, &c. after which 796
night dances commence. When these are ended, [526]
the people retire home, perfectly assured of the [535]
protection of the gods.

At this ceremony, the quantity of provisions 651
shared out is incredible; the people, therefore, 796
look upon it as a very heavy tribute, 574
though in fact the owners of the plantations

[May 18, 1777]

“ this present far exceeded any I had ever 175
“ received from any of the sovereigns of the 648
“ various islands I had visited in the Pacific 431
“ Ocean. I lost no time in convincing my
“ friend that I was not insensible of his liberality;
“ for before he quitted my ship I bestowed
“ upon him such of our commodities as I
“ guessed were most valuable in his estimation.
“ And the return I made was so much to his
“ satisfaction, that as soon as he got on shore
“ he left me still indebted to him, by sending
“ me a fresh present, consisting of two large
“ hogs, a considerable quantity of cloth, and
“ some yams.”

Here follows an *imperfect* account of the 128
dance called *méë too búggi*, but which we shall
now omit, and quote a fuller description of it
afterwards. Other circumstances not necessary
here to enumerate are also omitted. After describing
an exhibition of fire-works, the account
goes on thus:

“ Our water and sky rockets, in particular, 175
“ pleased and astonished them beyond all conception; 648
“ and the scale was now turned in
“ our favour. This, however, seemed only to [535]
“ furnish them with an additional motive to [545]
“ proceed to fresh exertions of their very singular
“ dexterity, and our fire-works were no
“ sooner ended than a succession of dances

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

[May 18, 1777]

175 " which Feenow got ready for our entertainment
648 " began. As a prelude to them, a band
545 " of music, or chorus of eighteen men, seated
535 " themselves before us, in the centre of the
" circle composed by the numerous spectators,
175 " the area of which was to be the scene of the
648 " exhibitions. Four or five of this band had
545 " pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or
533 " six feet long, each managed by one man, who
[534] " held it nearly in a vertical position, the upper
" end open, but the other end closed by one
" of the joints. With this close end the performers
" kept constantly striking the ground,
" though slowly, thus producing different notes
" according to the different lengths of the instruments,
" but all of them of the hollow or
" base sort; to counteract which a person kept
" striking quickly, and with two sticks, a piece
" of the same substance, split and laid along
" the ground, and by that means furnishing a
" tone as acute as those produced by the others
" were grave. The rest of the band, as well as
" those who performed upon the bamboos, sung
" a slow and soft air, which so much tempered
" the harsher notes of the above instruments,
" that no by-stander, however accustomed to
" hear the most perfect and varied modulations
" of sweet sounds, could avoid confessing the
" vast power and pleasing effect of this harmony.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

[May 18, 1777]

"The concert having continued about a 175
" quarter of an hour, twenty women entered 648
" the circle. Most of them had upon their 545
" heads garlands of the crimson flowers of the 533
" China rose, or others; and many of them had [301]
" ornamented their persons with leaves of trees,
" cut with a deal of nicety about the edges.
" They made a circle round the chorus, turning
" their faces toward it, and began by singing a
" soft air, to which responses were made by the
" chorus in the same tone, and these were re-
" peated alternately. All this while the wo- [535] ●
" men accompanied their song with several
" very graceful motions of their hands towards
" their faces, and in other directions, at the
" same time making constantly a step forward,
" and then back again with one foot, while the
" other was fixed. They then turned their
" faces to the assembly, sung some time, and
" retreated slowly in a body to that part of the
" circle which was opposite the hut where the
" principal spectators sat. After this, one of 175
" them advanced from each side, meeting and 648
" passing each other in the front, and continu- 545
" ing their progress round till they came to the 535
" rest: on which two advanced from each side,
" two of whom passed each other and returned
" as the former; but the other two remained,
" and to these came one from each side by

175 "intervals, till the whole number had again
648 formed a circle about the chorus.

545 "Their manner of dancing was now changed
535 to a quicker measure, in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping, and clapped their hands, and snapped their fingers, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus. Toward the end, as the quickness of the music increased, their gestures and attitudes were varied with wonderful vigour and dexterity; and some of their motions, perhaps, would with us be reckoned rather indecent. Though this part of the performance, most probably, was not meant to convey any wanton ideas: but merely to display the astonishing variety of their movements*.

"To this grand female ballet succeeded one performed by fifteen men. Some of them were old; but their age seemed to have altered little of their agility or ardour for the dance. They were disposed in a sort of circle, divided at the front, with their faces not turned out toward the assembly, nor inward to the chorus; but one half of the circle faced forward as they had advanced, and the other half in a contrary direction. They

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* Our accurate observer is perfectly correct.

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" sometimes sung slowly in concert with the 175
" chorus; and while thus employed they also 648
" made several very fine motions with their 545
" hands, but different from those made by the 535
" women; at the same time inclining the body
" to either side alternately, by raising one leg
" which was stretched outward, and resting on
" the other: the arm of the same side being
" also stretched fully upward. At other times
" they recited sentences in a musical tone,
" which were answered by the chorus; and at
" intervals increased the measure of the dance,
" by clapping the hands, and quickening the
" motions of the feet, which, however, were
" never varied. At the end, the rapidity of
" the music and of the dancing increased so
" much, that it was scarcely possible to distin-
" guish the different movements; though one
" might suppose the actors were now almost
" tired, as their performance had lasted near
" half an hour.

" After a considerable interval, another act, 175
" as we may call it, began. Twelve men now 648
" advanced, who placed themselves in double 545
" rows, fronting each other, but on opposite 535
" sides of the circle; and on one side a man 533
" was stationed, who, as if he had been a
" prompter, repeated several sentences, to
" which the twelve new performers and the

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175 " chorus replied. They then sung slowly, and
648 " afterwards danced and sung more quickly
545 " for about a quarter of an hour, after the
535 " manner of the dancers whom they had suc-
533 " ceeded.

" After this, we had a dance composed of
" the men who attended or had followed Fee-
" now. They formed a double circle (i. e. one
" within another), of twenty-four each, round
" the chorus, and began a gentle soothing song,
" with corresponding motions of the hands and
" head. This lasted a considerable time, and
" then changed to a much quicker measure,
" during which they repeated sentences either
" in conjunction with the chorus, or in answer
" to some spoken by that band. They then
" retreated to the back part of the circle as
" the women had done, and again advanced on
" each side in a triple row, till they formed a
" semicircle, which was done very slowly, by
" inclining the body on one leg, and advancing
" the other a little way as they put it down.
" They accompanied this with such a soft air
" as they had sung at the beginning, but soon
" changed it to repeat sentences in a harsher
" tone, at the same time quickening the dance
" very much, till they finished with a general
" shout and clap of the hands. The same was
" repeated several times; but at last they

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“ formed a double circle as at the beginning, 175
“ danced and repeated very quickly, and finally 648
“ closed with several very dexterous transposi- 545
“ tions of the two circles. 535

“ The entertainments of this memorable [533]
“ night concluded with a dance, in which the
“ principal people present exhibited. It re-
“ sembled the immediately preceding one in
“ some respects, having the same number of
“ performers, who began nearly in the same
“ way: but their ending at each interval was
“ different; for they increased their motions
“ to a prodigious quickness, shaking their heads
“ from shoulder to shoulder, with such force,
“ that a spectator unaccustomed to the sight
“ would suppose that they ran a risk of dislo-
“ cating their necks. This was attended with
“ a smart clapping of the hands, and a kind of
“ savage holla! or shriek, not unlike what is
“ sometimes practised in the comic dances in
“ our European theatres. They formed the 175
“ triple semicircle as the preceding dancers 648
“ had done, and a person who advanced at the 545
“ head on one side of the semicircle began, by 535
“ repeating something in a truly musical recita- 533
“ tive, which was delivered with an air so grace-
“ ful, as might put to the blush our most ap-
“ plauded performers. He was answered in
“ the same manner by the person at the head

4

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175 "of the opposite party. This being repeated
648 "several times, the whole body on one side
545 "joined in the responses to the whole corre-
535 "sponding body on the opposite side, as the
533 "semicircle advanced to the front; and they
"finished by singing and dancing, as they had
"begun.

"These two last dances were performed with "so much spirit, and so great exactness, that "they met with universal approbation. The "native spectators, who, no doubt, were perfect judges whether the several performances "were properly executed, could not withhold "their applauses at some particular parts; and "even a stranger who never saw the diversion "before felt similar satisfaction at the same instant. For though, through the whole, the "most strict concert was observed, some of the "gestures were so expressive, that it might be "said they spoke the language that accompanied them, if we allow that there is any connexion between motion and sound. At the "same time it should be observed, that though "the music of the chorus and that of the "dancers corresponded, constant practice in "these favourite amusements of our friends "seems to have a great share in effecting the "exact time they keep in their performances. "For we observed that if any of them happened

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"accidentally to be interrupted, they never 175
"found the smallest difficulty in recovering the 648
"proper place of the dance or song: and their 545
"perfect discipline was in no instance more re- 535
"markable than in the sudden transitions they 533
"so dexterously made from the ruder exertions
"and harsh sounds, to the softest airs and
"gentlest movements.

"About eleven o'clock (in the morning),
"they began to exhibit various dances, which 175
"they called *mai*. The music consisted at first 534
"of seventy men as a chorus, who sat down,
"and amidst them were placed three instruments,
"which we called drums, though very
"unlike them. They are large cylindrical
"pieces of wood or trunks of trees, from three
"to four feet long, some twice as thick as an
"ordinary sized man, and some smaller, hollowed
"entirely out, but close at both ends,
"and open only by a chink about three inches
"broad, running almost the whole length of
"the drums: by which opening the rest of
"the wood is certainly hollowed, though the
"operation must be difficult. This instrument 175
"is called *naffa;* and, with the chink turned 648
"towards them, they sit and beat strongly upon 545
"it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood, 535
"about a foot long, and as thick as the wrist: 533
"by which means they produce a rude, though 534

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175 " loud and powerful sound. They vary the
648 " strength and rate of their beating at different
545 " parts of the dance, and also change their
535 " tones, by beating in the middle, or near the
533 " end of their drum.

[534] " The first dance* consisted of four ranks of
[299] " twenty-four men each, holding in their hands
" a little thin, light, wooden instrument, above
" two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small
" oblong paddle: with these, which are called
" *pagge*, they make a great many different mo-
" tions, such as pointing them toward the
" ground on one side, at the same time inclin-
" ing their bodies that way, from which they
" were shifted to the opposite side, in the same
" manner; then passing them quickly from one
" hand to the other, and twirling them about
" very dexterously; with a variety of other ma-
" nœuvres, all which were accompanied by
" corresponding attitudes of the body. Their
" motions were at first slow, but quickened as
" the drums beat faster; and they recited sen-
" tences in a musical tone the whole time, which
" were answered by the chorus; but at the end
" of a short space they all joined, and finished
" with a shout.

" After ceasing about two or three minutes,
" they began as before, and continued with

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* This is the dance called *mée too buggi*.

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" short intervals above a quarter of an hour, 175
" when the rear rank dividing, shifted them- 648
" selves very slowly round each end, and meet- 545
" ing in the front, formed the first rank: the 535
" whole number continuing to recite the sen- 533
" tences as before. The other ranks did the
" same successively, till that which at first was
" the front became the rear; and the evolution
" continued in the same manner till the last
" rank regained its first situation. They then
" began a much quicker dance (though slow at
" first), and sung for about ten minutes, when
" the whole body divided into two parts, re-
" treated a little, and then approached, forming
" a sort of circular figure, which finished the
" dance; the drums being removed, and the
" chorus going off the field at the same time.'

" The second dance had only two drums,
" with forty men for a chorus; and the dancers,
" or rather actors, consisted of two ranks, the
" foremost having seventeen, and the other
" fifteen persons. Feenow was at their head,
" or in the middle of the front rank, which is
" the principal place in these cases. They
" danced and recited sentences, with some very
" short intervals, for about half an hour, some-
" times quickly, sometimes more slowly, but
" with such a degree of exactness as if all the
" motions were made by one man, which did

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175 " them great credit. Near the close, the back
648 " rank divided, came round, and took the place
545 " of the front, which again resumed its situation,
535 " as in the first dance; and when they finished,
533 " the drums and chorus, as before, went off.

" Three drums (which at least took two, and
" sometimes three men to carry them), were
" now brought in; and seventy men sat down,
[292] " as a chorus to the third dance. This consisted
" of two ranks, of sixteen persons each,
" with young Toobou at their head, who was
" richly ornamented with a sort of garment
[293] " covered with red feathers. These danced,
" sung, and twirled the *paggi* as before; but
" in general much quicker, and performed so
" well, that they had the constant applauses of
" the spectators. A motion that met with particular
" approbation was one in which they
" held the face aside as if ashamed, and the
" *paggi* before it. The back rank closed before
" the front one, and that again resumed its
" place, as in the two former dances; but then
" they began again, formed a triple row, divided,
" retreated to each end of the area, and left
175 " the greatest part of the ground clear. At
648 " this instant two men entered very hastily, and
545 " exercised the clubs which they use in battle.
535 " They did this by first twirling them in
411 " their hands, and making circular strokes be-

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"fore them with great force and quickness; 175
"but so skilfully managed, that, though standing 648
"quite close, they never interfered. They 545
"shifted their clubs from hand to hand with 535
"great dexterity; and, after continuing a little 411
"time, kneeled, and made different motions,
"tossing the clubs up in the air, which they
"caught as they fell; and then went off as
"hastily as they entered. Their heads were [292]
"covered with pieces of white cloth, tied at
"the crown (almost like a night-cap) with a
"wreath of foliage round the forehead; but
"they had only very small pieces of white
"cloth tied about the waists; probably that
"they might be cool, and free from every incumbrance
"or weight*. A person with a
"spear, dressed like the former, then came in,
"and in the same hasty manner; looking about
"eagerly, as if in search of somebody to throw
"it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the
"crowd in the front, and put himself in a
"threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike
"with his spear at one of them, bending the

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* This exhibition with the clubs, as well as the following one with a spear, are practices of Hamoa (the Navigator's Islands), at which the natives of that place are said to be very expert: they are occasionally adopted at Tonga by way of interludes, but they do not form an essential part of the above performance: the particular dress which these performers had on was the war dress of the Hamoa Islands. [177]

[May 18, 1777]

175 “ knee a little, and trembling, as it were, with
648 “ rage. He continued in this manner only a
545 “ few seconds, when he moved to the other
535 “ side, and having stood in the same posture
[411] “ there, for the same short time, retreated from
“ the ground as fast as when he made his ap-
“ pearance. The dancers, who had divided
“ into two parties, kept repeating something
“ slowly; and now advanced, and joined again,
[533] “ ending with universal applause. It should
“ seem that this dance was considered as one
[634] “ of their capital performances, if we might
“ judge from some of the principal people being
“ engaged in it; for one of their drums was
“ beat by Futtafaihe, the brother of Poulaho,
“ another by Feenow, and the third, which did
“ not belong to the chorus, by Mareewagee
“ himself, at the entrance of his hut*.

175 “ It is with regret I mention that we could
648 “ not understand what was spoken, while we
545 “ were able to see what was acted in these
“ amusements. This, doubtless, would have
“ afforded us much information as to the genius

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[555] * It must here be noticed that it is a difficult matter to
[565] beat these drums properly, consequently it is considered a
great accomplishment, and never practised by the lower
orders: it must also be observed, that whenever among the
dancers there are principal chiefs, as, no doubt, there were
on the above occasion, the drums are always beaten by
persons of the first consequence.

[May 18, 1777]

“ and customs of these people. It was observ- 175
“ able, that though the spectators always ap- 648
“ proved of the various motions when well 545
“ made, a great share of the pleasure they re-
“ ceived seemed to arise from the sentimental
“ part, or what the performers delivered in their
“ speeches*. However, the mere acting part,
“ independently of the sentences repeated, was
“ well worth our notice, both with respect to
“ the extensive plan in which it was executed,
“ and to the various motions, as well as the
“ exact unity with which they were performed.
“ Neither pencil nor pen can describe the nu-
“ merous actions and motions, the singularity
“ of which was not greater than was the ease
“ and gracefulness with which they were per-
“ formed.

“ In expectation of this evening show, the 175
“ circle of natives about our tent being pretty 648
“ large, they engaged in wrestling and boxing: 526

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* All the dances where the paddle is used are borrowed [535]
from the natives of the islands of Nuha (Cocos island, and [293]
Traitor's island), situated between Vavaoo and Hamoa (the [177]
Navigator's islands.) The accompanying songs are in the
language of Hamoa, whence the people of Nuha have bor- [533]
rowed them, and both dances and songs have been thus [191]
adopted at Tonga; but as very few of the Tonga people understand the Hamoa language, it is presumed that the applause of the people on the above occasion was not excited by the sentiment, but by the music and general performance.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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In the account given by Cook, there is only 535
mention made of two principal dances, viz. *mëé* 565
low folla, and *mëë too buggi;* but there are 533
two others of some note, called *héa* and *oóla:* [114]
the first is one of the most ancient dances of
Tonga, and is practised only by chiefs and superior
mataboolеs; and is a dance very difficult
to execute, not only on account of the accompanying
gesture, but also of the singing. The [534]
chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the
chiefs or principal mataboolеs, in the middle of
whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat
piece of hard wood, about three feet long, and
an inch and a half square, fastened only at one
end upon another similar piece: this is struck
by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produces
a rattling sound. The difficulty of keeping
the time is owing to the extreme velocity
with which they beat, particularly towards the
latter end. The dancers, who are all men, in
the mean while perform their evolutions round
the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very
graceful movements with the arms and head,
accompanied by expressions of countenance
suitable to the character of the dance, which is
that (abstractedly) of a manly and noble spirit,
consistent with the mind and habits of a superior
person, and therefore it is deemed essential
that every chief and mataboole should learn it.

535 As among the ancient Greeks it was thought
565 inconsistent with the character of a gentleman
533 not to know how to strike the lyre, so among
the Tonga people it would be considered a mark
of great ignorance to be unaccomplished in the
graceful, manly, and expressive movements of
this dance.

The night dance called *obla* is a very ancient
535 one in Tonga, though borrowed no doubt
177 originally from the people of the Navigator's
[565 island (Hamoa). This dance was formerly
178] only adopted in the Tonga islands among the
lower orders of people; but of late, some
Tonga chiefs on a visit to Hamoa were so
pleased with the superior gracefulness of the
obla, which was danced there, that they afterwards
brought it into fashion among the higher
classes in Tonga, with many improvements and
graceful embellishments borrowed from the
former place: since which, the *obla* of Tonga
is grown quite out of use, even among the lower
orders, though it was once danced in Mr. Mariner's
time, by order of the present king, on
purpose to contrast it with the *obla* of Hamoa;
but it was a very awkward exhibition in comparison
with the Hamoa refinements, and probably
535 will never be introduced again. There
are no particular figures in this dance different
from what have already been described in the

other dances; but the arrangement of the 535
movements is very different: the whole dance
is considerably more quick throughout, and
there are several other motions of the feet and
postures of the body. The night dance which 535
Captain Cook saw (the *mēē low folla*) is per- 177
haps the only one which can be considered of 533
Tonga invention, and is the only one accompa- 191
nied throughout with Tonga songs: the rest
belong to Hamoa and Neuha, and are accompanied chiefly with Hamoa songs; for although
the dance called *hea* is considered a very ancient Tonga one, there is not much doubt of
its being of Hamoa extraction, and accordingly
most of its songs are in that language. The
mēē too buggi is a Nuha * dance, but the songs
accompanying it are Hamoa. The principal 535
public dances are the four following:

Mēē low folla, i. e. a dance with the arms outspread: a night dance: it is also called *bo mēē*.

Mēē too buggi, i. e. a dance standing up with paddles: a day dance.

Hea; sometimes a day dance, but mostly a night dance,

Oola; a night dance.

These public exhibitions of dances naturally 534
lead us to speak of their music and poetry: with

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* The islands of Nuha lie between Hamoa and Vavaoo, and are known to navigators by the names of Traitor's island, and Cocos island.

534 regard to their musical instruments, they have already been mentioned, except the *fango-fango*, which is a sort of flute blown by the nose: it is always filled by the right nostril, the left being closed with the thumb of the left hand. There are generally five holes for the fingers, and one underneath for the thumb; though some have six holes for the fingers, and others only four. The sound of them is soft and grave: they are only used as an accompani-
533 ment to one species of song called *obbe*. At
535 all concerts where there is no dancing, the singers sit during the whole time. The following are the different kinds of song used among them.

Low fólla; this is only used with the dance so called, and is in the Tonga language.

Láve; of a similar character with the above sung without dancing, but accompanied with motions of the hands; also in the Tonga language.

[191] *Langi mée too buggi;* that which is always used with the dance so called: in the Hamoa language.

Héa; only used with the dance thus named: sometimes Tonga, but mostly Hamoa.

Híva; similar to the above, but sung without dancing: they call European singing *hiva*, because probably the *hiva* is very seldom ac-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

companied either with music or clapping of the 533
hands: always in the Tonga language. 535

Oóla; that kind of singing which is accom- [191]
panied by the dance so called: to this most of the annexed specimens belong: generally in the Hamoa language.

Fucca Nuha; or the Nuha fashion of sing- [177]
ing: this is never accompanied with dancing, and is always sung in the Tonga language.
Most of their songs are descriptive of scenery; 533
but some of these are descriptive of past events, 538
or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi:* the accounts they give of the latter place are ludicrous enough. The poet describes, among other things, the animals belonging to the country, stating that in the fields there are large pigs with horns, that eat grass, and at the *mooa* there are houses that are pulled along by enormous birds. The women are described to be so covered with dress, that a native of Tonga coming into a house takes a lady for a bundle of *Papalangi gnatoo*, (linen, &c.) and accordingly places it across his shoulder to carry it away, when to his great amazement the bundle jumps down and runs off. One of these songs describes the principal events that happened during Captain Cook's visit, and which, excepting a little exaggeration, is tolerably cor-

533 pieces of recitative, particularly those according [177] to the *Nuha* mode: others again have a considerable variety of tone, and approach to the character of European music: such for example are some of those to which we shall directly give expression according to the European 533 system of notation*. Those who are skilled in the 538 composition of songs and music often retire for several days to the most romantic and retired spots of Vavaoo, to indulge their poetic genius, and then return to the *mooa* with several new compositions, which they introduce at the first opportunity. The man who is related p. 251 to have cut off his own leg, was very expert in the composition of humorous pieces: but a man of the name Tengé was famous for the higher order of composition: he was one of the lowest *mooas* belonging to Hala A'pi A'pi: but he was much esteemed for his abilities. He was principal instructor of one of the classes (or bands) of singers.

With regard to the following seven speci-533 mens of musical composition, it must be no-535 ticed, that the first six belong to the kind of dance called *oola*, and the last to that called *méë too buggi.* In respect of the *oola* it must be farther noticed, that it has two species of

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[192] * They have no distinction of term between recitative and actual singing, they call it all *hiva* (to sing); this word happens to mean also the number *nine*.

music, the one called *hiva*, and the other *langi*; 533
the *hiva* approaches in its nature to recitative, [535]
is given without dancing, and serves as an introduction or overture to the *langi*, which is accompanied with dancing, and commences the moment the *hiva* has ceased. The *hiva*, however, is repeated several times *ad libitum*; but when the *langi* is about to commence, and the *hiva* to cease, the latter is generally ended with a sort of flourish difficult to describe, but in a louder tone of voice, and very abruptly, as if significant of a sudden rush or assault. The first specimen of the *hiva* here given admits of being thus ended, the other does not. The *langi* may also be repeated *ad libitum*, and may even be changed from one specimen into another: Thus much for the *oola*. The last specimen belongs [535]
to the dance called *Mĕĕ too buggi*, which has no *hiva* to introduce it, but commences at once with dancing; it may also be repeated *ad libitum*: what is here given is, however, only *part* of a specimen of the *mĕĕ too buggi*. The words [191]
of all these songs are in the Hamoa language, and are not understood, except the last, which appears to be a mixture of Hamoa and Tonga: where there are no words, they are forgotten.

The little piece quoted as a Tonga song in 114
the Quarterly Review, No. XXXIII. p. 34, we can make no sense of, it is perhaps Hamoa, or more probably Nuha language.

his possessions, and in the most earnest manner 103
entreated him to accept of something. Being 571
thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi 173
chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *gie fow* *, [292]
and this was the only article that the eloquence
and kindness of Finow could persuade him to accept of. The king left him with sentiments of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the orders that had been formerly given to prevent any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day 512
it is usual to have another meal, when the [264]
chiefs receive a number of presents, of different [431]
kinds of provisions, from their dependents or [574]
friends, which the matabooles share out. In [521]
the afternoon some again join in conversation, [224]
others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening they have dancing and singing, which is 512
often continued till very late at night, on which 535
occasion they burn torches, each being held by [533]
a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. [372]
These dances are generally kept up for about
four hours after dark. When no dances are 512
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* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, 372
as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280. 357

POETRY

INTRODUCTION

Tongan poetry, when not sung, is delivered as a sort of recitative, the 538
last syllable of each line or verse being strongly accented. Since compara-
tively little attention is paid to the length of the line the method of reciting
is to slur normal accents, until the last is reached. In singing, accents are [533]
slurred, syllables lengthened or shortened, to fit the tune.

Rhyme is of great importance. One rhyme is carried through verse after verse of a long stanza, and it is on these rhyming syllables that the strong accent rests. The end of a stanza is often marked by a recurrent word or refrain. Of such words *tupa* (perhaps the name of a shell-fish) is of frequent occurrence. A new stanza usually rhymes on a fresh sound. Many rhymes are on the last vowel only, but just as many are on the last two vowels. If the last two vowels are rhyming the interposition of a consonant does not destroy the rhyme. For instance *ai* is felt as a rhyme to *ali*, although in ordinary conversation *ai* is almost a diphthong.

In some poetry there is a rather elaborate parallelism as illustrated in the poem of Ulamoleka (p. 84). There seem to be here at any rate the germs of the highly developed parallelism characteristic of the great Hebrew poetry. In not a few poems length of lines is more carefully attended to. The closing *tangi* in the story of Tongamauluau and Kulakehahau shows a skillful and well balanced use of lines of different length (p. 41).

E Tongamaulu'au	Ah Tongamauluan [539]
Ke ke ha'u,	Do thou come,
Kuo hela 'a Kulakehahau,	Aweary is Kulakehahau,
Pea ne fekau	And he orders
Keu tangi atu,	That I plead
Ke ke 'ofa mai na'aku manatu.	That thou love us lest I pine rememb'ring.

The Tongans are appreciative, but critical, audiences. If there is an 517
occasion on which several speakers address a gathering there is no doubt
in their apprisement of merits. This or the other delivered the speech
that was *malie* (graceful, forceful and appropriate). During a dance every [555]
once in a while a man or a woman will leave the group of spectators and
approach a dancer whom he judges to be performing especially well, and
tie a ribbon or handkerchief about his or her arm or neck. Criticism does
not stop at individuals; this or the other band of dancers bears the palm in
the judgment of the spectators.

This critical faculty, so freely and justly exercised, has evidently a long
history of regular cultivation. Dancers, choirs, poets all vied with one 517
another to win the approval of chiefs and people. The rivalry of poets is 538
well seen in the poems of Falepapalangi and Mamaeaepoto (pp. 65-73). [535]
[533]

Vaka fe ne ke hiki-la-'ia?	In what boat hast thou hoisted the sail? 539
Koe 'uli 'ahai ne ke tongia,	Whose steering hast thou replaced?
'Uli mo vakai na'a takasifa?	Steering and watching lest the course be crooked?
He koe faiva ta'e puke nima?	For is that a task without seizing with hands?
Ko hota faiva 'a mahahaki,	Ours is a task of sickly men,
Pea malo pe hono fai;	And well have we done it;
Kae tuku hono fakaaliali	But cease the showing abroad
Ho'o folehia au he kakai.	That disgusts the people with me.
Ne tonkua kuou ma'ahi'ahi, e he,	'Twas said that I was waved about, *e he,*
Kuo kovi mu'a sieku ma'ali'ali? e he,	Am I harmed by being thus made manifest? *e he,*
Pe'i tuku mu'a e fakafe'iloaki, e he	Then treat me no more as a familiar, *e he,*
Na'a 'avea koe ki huasi, e he,	Lest thou be taken to the outboard, *e he,*[14]
'O tali fekau pe mei ai, e he;	To receive orders from there, *e he;*
Atu ho'o me'a, 'o hapo e hai? e he.	A thing is thrown to thee, who will catch it? *e he.*
Ko hota takanga 'a tongiaki	Ours is a companionship of frail canoes.
Ka tukumuli, vale hono fai,	Go astern, only bungle,
Ka lauama, faka-petetangi,	Try to sing, but a bleat,[15]
Ka laumata'u, faka-kole mai,	Try to work, ask for help,
Ka hiva tu'u, vale 'i he pasi.	Stand in the song, cannot clap.[16]
Koe hua koa ia 'o hai?	Who will take pleasure in it?

DANCE SONG OF FALEPAPALANGI

The following is an attempt to render something of the rhyming of 538
Tongan verse. The structure of the Tongan lines is loose, with no precision 539
in the matter of feet or syllables; but even with this irregularity the
open syllables of Tongan are more easily modulated rhythmically in recitation
or singing than are the closed syllables of English. There are six
stanzas of three lines each, rhyming throughout on the same sound, *a*. Each
stanza is followed by a refrain. Then there is a longer stanza in which
alternate lines rhyme, followed by five lines rhyming in a different sound,
the refrain occurring once at the end. Stanzas and verses were probably [533]
all sung by all the singers, who may have been the dancers themselves, a [535]
separate band of singers, or dancers and such a band of singers together.

Toi ke lilo na'a ha,	Hide out of sight lest one see,[1] 539
Ka 'ikai, tukuaipe a	If not, well then, thou shalt be
Ke hange ha lupe lauama.	As a pigeon that cheers us at sea.[2]
Angi mai, angi mai, e he,	Blow, blow, *e he,*
'Uoi he angi, e he he.	Oho for the breeze, *e he he.*
Mulimulifoe ho vaka,	With the steer-oar row peacefully,
Koe mau e hoto tangata,	My man, a bard is he,
Pea piki he pala'i maea.	And he clings to a rope for safety.
Angi mai, angi mai, etc.	Blow, blow, etc.
'Alu 'o folau he vaka,	Go and sail on the sea,

SONGS

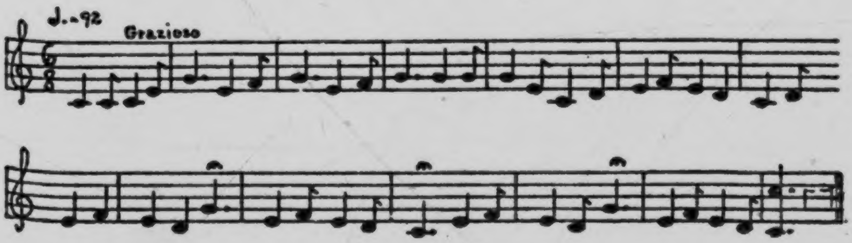
MODERN DANCE SONGS

Introduction

Although the songs that follow are called dance songs it is not to 533 be presumed that no other poems in this collection were sung as the ac- 535 companiment of dances. Many others were doubtless so used. Dance, [538] song, and poetry go hand in hand. The most comprehensive word of the dance is *faiva,* which is applicable to any accomplishment, or feat of skill. 535 A man's *faiva* is that wherein he excels. In relation to festivals the *ngahi faiva* are the dances. A modern innovation of very wide application is *lakalaka,* literally marching. Older names of dances are still remembered, though some are seldom used of present-day dancing. Probably many old forms of dance have survived although their specific names have dropped out of use, and have been replaced by the more indefinite *lakalaka,* which is said to have originated with marching movements of children at church festivities in the earlier days of missions. The word now covers a wide range of men's and women's dances. A characteristic *lakalaka* is performed by a row of men and a row of women, the women being in front. Dancers keep time to the music with hands and feet. Type of subject and movement are at the discretion of the leader. There is much freedom of choice.

The *lakalaka,* and many other of the dances, are indeed ballets. Many 535 of the movements are representative of the activities described by the ac- 533 companying song. Such tunes as those reproduced on pages 126-128 are typical of those sung to the *lakalaka.* A tune given by Mariner (28, vol. 2, last one facing p. 116) is still sung, though not to the *lakalaka.* One of [796] the best places to hear typical old music is in church prayer-meetings. Religious emotion is still stirred and best expressed by the native music unin- [781] fluenced by later models.

The following tune was used as the accompaniment to a *lakalaka* performed at the time of the World War.



535 I have not the words of the song sung to this tune; but it started,

533 Te tau talanoa atu ki he tau,	We shall talk about the war.

539 Music has shown a very fruitful fusion of the old and the new, the native and the foreign. Native musicians compose pieces that are truly
533 characteristic of the Tongan genius, but that have range, variety, and expression greatly influenced and improved by contact with foreign music. Two tasks await the musically competent observer, a thorough examination of the genuine native music, and the collection of modern compositions. Such a collection might be made the basis of a work having popular interest and artistic merit, enabling a talented artist to do for the South Sea islander what Miss Edna Thomas is doing for the American Negro, and Frances Nickana for the Indian. There is a wealth of musical and dramatic talent among the islanders that justifies the hope that an interpreter may arise from among themselves. The Tongans have excellent brass bands and choirs. The bass singing of the men is admirable.

The music of the dance frequently is furnished by the voices of the
533 dancers. Very often the dance is accompanied by a body of singers apart
535 from the dancers, called *langi*, or *langi tua*. The term *langi* is applied also to
534 the tune. The singing and dancing are accompanied and timed by clapping the hands or beating a drum. The older form of drum consisted of a bundle of bamboos, wrapped round with a mat. An empty oil-drum, with a piece of hide stretched over the open end, is often used today. On unimportant occasions, as for rehearsals, an empty kerosene tin may be used. This humble germ of an orchestra, skillfully beaten, has a note that is not at all unmusical.

While the number that may participate is unlimited, a *lakalaka* consists
535 usually of about thirty or forty performers. The performers move only a few feet, generally, in any direction; most of the time they face one way, but may make turns to right or left or rear, in endless variety and complexity of the movements. During the celebration of the Jubilee of the Tupou College, Nukualofa, in 1917, performances were given by a ballet from Mua, which must have numbered about two hundred dancers, arranged in rows alternately of women and men. These performers staged pieces of great length and complexity. The lines would turn, divide, front and back rows change positions, and go through a number of evolutions, hands and feet keeping time to the music. All this was done with the greatest precision and beauty, and within limits that would not have been beyond the capacity of a moderate-sized theater stage.

At the same celebrations a party from Hihifo performed what was liter-
[533] ally a *lakalaka*, marching. A long line of performers moved, with a sort of waltz step, slowly across the green in a serpentine file, keeping time with double thuds of the bamboo, now on this side of their feet, and now

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

on that. The rhythmic hollow drumming of the bamboos, and the move- 535
ments of the slowly-advancing winding line, were peculiarly effective. La- 533
billardière (27) mentions a kind of orchestra of thirteen musicians with
bamboos which they struck on the ground.

Sipa is a dance in which the movements are like those of the *lakalaka*, but the accompanying music is like a chanty (*tauaalo*). (See p. 121.)

A dance which enjoys a great vogue is the Fijian *meke*, or club dance. This is accompanied by the drum alone. A small party, including the drummer, or drummers, sits down at a distance from the dancers, who are all men, each carrying a club over his shoulder. The drumming commences, slowly and softly at first, but quickening in time and increasing in volume. There are shouts from the club-bearers and presently a single figure comes skirmishing forward. His steps keep time to the beats of the drum, as he comes on, bending this way and that, performing various evolutions with his club. He seems to be a sort of scout, or, more probably, a representative of the inciting and challenging to single combat which preceded battle. (I have seen the suggestion made, but I forget by whom, that the reason of the challenging gestures and insults which brought on one or more single combats before the battle became general, in primitive warfare may have had a religious motive, so that the enemy might be guilty of the *hybris* of striking the first blow.) The single warrior advances toward the party where the drummer is seated, but presently retreats again to the main party, which advances, sometimes with both hands on the handles of clubs, which are resting on shoulders, keeping time to the drum with hands and elbows, sometimes performing more intricate movements with club and body and limbs. As the warriors drew closer and closer the beats of the drum and the movements of the dancers quicken, though the rate of their advance is not appreciably accelerated. Heads and faces, bodies, arms and legs, are all expressive of the spirit of the war dance. The tension and excitement of performers and spectators rise higher and higher. It seems as though the dancers will break and rush upon the party with whom the drummer sits, and upon the spectators. Suddenly there is a shout and a dramatic stop. The inciting drumming ceases, and the dancers move quietly away. The *meke* is ended.

The realism of this dance is increased by smears of black on the per- [302]
formers' faces, plumes stuck in the hair, and rattles of dried beans about [301]
ankles and wrists—adjuncts used in all dances. [534]

Another very popular dance is the *mauluulu*, said to be introduced from [177]
Samoa. This is a women's sitting dance, though sometimes a line of men
standing behind keep time with various movements. The music may
be provided by drum, voices, or both. The performers themselves usually 535
sing. The women sit cross-legged, and keep time with slight movements

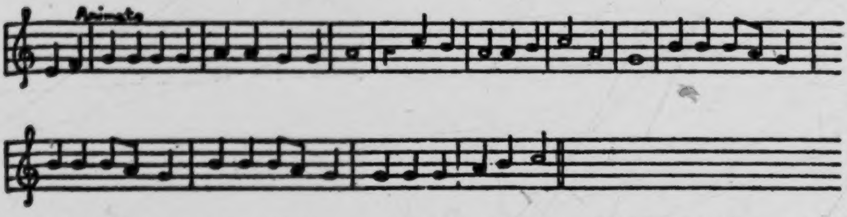
535 of the thighs, and with greater or less swayings of the body; but the main movements are with the hands and arms. Captain Cook, with excellent reason, praised the beauty of the Tongan women's hands. Hands and arms are beautifully modelled, and the muscles are extraordinarily flexible and well-controlled. The gestures, as in some other dances, may be imitative of various activities, for example, sailing a boat, pulling up sails, sailing away, pulling in a fish, sighting a far-off land. Or the movements may not be so readily interpretable. But whatever the theme and the nature of the movements, the rhythmic undulations of the swaying arms are fascinatingly beautiful. So flexible and well-controlled are the muscles of the hands that waves of movement are constantly rippling from wrists to finger-tips.

The *kailao* is a beautiful and picturesque dance. I have seen it performed only once, by two groups of men, each led by a young girl. This
[292] dance is said to be an importation from Uvea. The performers, in addition to the leaf girdles and rattles of dried beans on wrists and ankles, had head-
[299] dresses rather more elaborate than usual. All the dancers carried wooden implements with long narrow blades, not unlike cricket bats, evidently a toy-like property for the dance, but whether intended to represent clubs or paddles is difficult to say. The dancers went through a number of elaborate and difficult evolutions with these implements, feet keeping time to whirling
[533] hands and arms. The beating of the drum was quick, and the whole dance most animated.

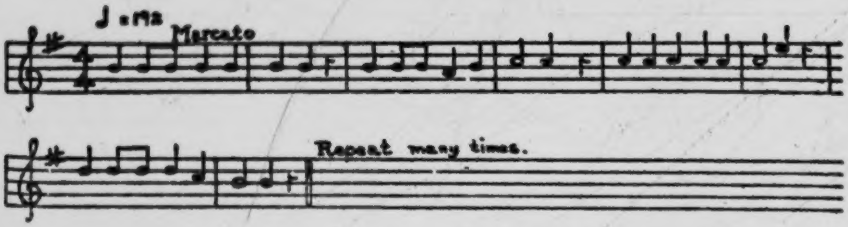
A Tongan has described to me an older form of *kailao* somewhat different. He said that all the performers sat down, and presently one jumped up and brandished his stick, club or paddle, and then another would join him, till all were engaged. It is surmised that the subjects were pictures
[293] of war or sailing. Pratt gives the Samoan cognate *ailao* as meaning "the act of fencing with, or flourishing, a club," which suggests the probability that war is the principal theme of this dance, and that the wooden implements represent clubs.

Most dances belong to great festivals; but one, the *tauolunga,* is seen on less formal occasions. Nowadays it is sometimes danced at concerts conducted on the European model. I have seen a *tauolunga* danced at a concert by two young men, or boys, and one girl or young woman. The performers move back and forth across the stage, hands, body, and feet all in unison. The whole dance is full of grace and animation, the movements of the male performers being more varied and animated than those of the girl.
535 In a concert hall the accompaniment is singing voices, clapping hands, or
533 piano; but of course there is no difficulty in dispensing with the piano. The dancers do not sing. The following is a very popular tune for the *tauolunga.*

I have not all the words, merely those of the refrain at the end, *Tu* 535
malala, which either mean "burn charcoal," or are unmeaning. They are 533
sung for their soft and rhythmic syllables, and not for their meaning. This tune, too, is suitable for the *tauolunga.* I have frequently seen a number of
girls sit and sing it, clapping their hands to the time. It is sung over and [539]
over again to words, which seem to be meaningless. "Vai Singano" is the 535
river Singano in Samoa; *liva* may possibly be the English word river, in 533
which case *liva fo* would mean river where clothes are washed. (Clothes 539
are washed in the streams of Samoa, but the Tongans are not blessed with such exemption from the toil of carrying water for the tub.) There is, however, a Tongan word *liva;* but no sense can be made of the lines.



Ou tamuta vai Singano,
Ou tamuta liva fo.



Sometimes a number of people are sitting together. Presently singing 535
and clapping start, and someone, man or woman, young or old, jumps up and dances. Feet, hands, and a rotating movement of the hips all keep time to the music. In all probability another, either man or woman, will soon jump up, and the pair dance about, sometimes close to one another, sometimes far apart, turning in all directions. Although the dances follow a well understood general mode, each dancer improvises for himself; frequently one incites another to follow his movements. There are men and women who have a reputation for skill and grace in this sort of thing. One, or two, may go through the dance, or others may be moved to join, until quite a large number are engaged. Humorous antics are frequently introduced, greatly appreciated by the onlookers. It is a free-and-easy amuse-

535 ment rather than a set exhibition, though it is said that previously all the dancers in a *tauolunga* performed the same movement. The *meetcki* is said to be a variation of the *tauolunga*.

The *tafoe* seems to be especially a women's dance. I have not seen it performed, and from the differences in the information regarding it, it would seem not to be familiar to living Tongans. It belongs to dances included under the term *mee*, and is performed by two or three rows of women. It would seem that men might sometimes join in, as an informant has given an arrangement of three rows, in which men and women alternate, or in which men are grouped at one end and women at the other. The front row was called *otu mua*, the second *lango-metai*, and the third *meteiholo*. These names probably may be applied to the rows in other dances. The middle position in the front row in all dances is called *vahenga*, and is the principal place in the dance, those who occupy it being called simply *vahenga* or *taofi vahenga*. They are the best dancers, or the most chiefly persons in the dance, the *mata oe faiva* (face of the dance). Next in importance to the *vahenga* are the two ends of the front row. This position is called simply *faka-potu* (extremity).

In the story of the marriage of the lovely Vae to the Tui Tonga Takalaua (22, p. 60), who reigned about the middle of the fifteenth century, presumably the performers were all women, and the dance may have been the
tafoe, though one account says that it was a Fijian dance that was being
535 performed. The performance of a women's dance at an important cere-
836 monial doubtless furnished the occasion on which a high-born virgin did
liku, danced naked, or perhaps girt with only a narrow cincture. This was not an immodesty, but, on the contrary, a vaunt, not only of beauty and high birth, but of chastity.

535 To take part in performances was not beneath the dignity of the highest
565 born. The Tui Tonga Takalaua's beating time for a dance has been noted. Labillardière tells of attending a vocal concert given by the queen, at which Fatafehi, a prince of the Tui Tonga house, sang and beat time. Although the *tafoe* is said to be a women's dance, the name suggests that it may have been a paddle dance.

535 In the *mee laufola*, the women stand and evidently the chief movements are with the hands. I have neither seen this, nor heard it described. Mariner (28, vol. 2, pp. 214-216) mentions this as a night dance, and as one of those
[177] witnessed by Cook. Mariner says this dance "is perhaps the only one which can be considered of Tonga invention, and is the only one accompanied with Tonga songs; the rest belong to Hamoa and Nuha (Niua), and are accompanied chiefly with Hamoa songs." He further describes it as "a dance with the arms outspread: it is also called *bo mee*;" *bo* [*po*] *mee* means night of dancing, and is not the name of a dance. Similarly a night of dancing is

called *po-ula*. Cook's description of the dances he saw (18, vol. 2, pp. 96-98) 535 recounts a dance of women, followed by a dance of men who went through much the same movements as the women.

A dance, *tafi*, is described as a sitting dance of men, in which the movements are descriptive of various activities.

The word *ula* is applied to dancing and singing. The reduplicated form [192] *ulaula* is used today of European dancing. Mariner, however,, mentions *ula* as the name of a specific night dance, or rather of two dances, one of long standing in Tonga, and the other recently introduced from Samoa.

The name of an entertainment (*hea*) is found in many old stories, though it seems to have passed out of contemporary use. Mariner (28, vol. 2, p. 535 214) describes it as a very ancient Tongan dance practised only by chiefs 565 and superior *matapule*:

> . . . and a dance very difficult to execute, not only on account of the accompanying [533] gesture, but also of the singing. The chorus is composed of ten or twelve of the chiefs or principal matabooles, in the middle of whom sits one who beats time upon a loose flat piece of hardwood, about three feet long, and an inch and a half square, fastened only at one end upon another similar piece. This is struck by two small sticks, one in each hand, and produces a rattling sound. The difficulty of keeping the time is owing to the extreme velocity with which they beat, particularly towards the latter end. The dancers, who are all men, in the meantime perform their evolutions round the chorus, exhibiting a vast variety of very graceful movements with the arms and head, accompanied by expressions of countenance suitable to the character of the dance, which is that (abstractedly) to a, manly and noble spirit, consistent with the minds and habits of a superior person, and therefore it is deemed essential that every chief and mataboole should learn it.

Labillardière (27) describes a men's dance in Tonga, in which the performers held in their hands little clubs, which they moved about, making 535 at the same time various movements with their feet, at first in slow time, then quicker. Labillarière says that the travellers' admiration was excited by the velocity and animation of the dancers. He describes the dance as celebrating the noble deeds of warriors. This would seem to be an exhibition of the *hea*.

A men's dance, with spears, axes, and like manly implements and weapons is the *mee tupaki*, still performed. Mariner calls the *mee tupaki* "a dance standing up with paddles; a day-dance." He says that this was one of the dances witnessed by Captain Cook. And Cook (18, vol. 2, p. 95) describes a paddle dance, performed by 105 men, in which there were not only many skillful flourishes of the hands, but also complicated changes of the three lines in which the dancers first ranged themselves.

In connection with marriage ceremonies is a dance called *lanumanga*, 535 which I have neither seen nor heard described. One of my brief notes 585 suggests *fokai* (lizard) as the name of a dance, and also indicates that the

585 [585] priest, or priestess, of the *feke* (octopus god) represented the octopus at times by sprawling on the ground.

[527] [766] Dances, of course, figure largely in the festivals for any joyous occasion. In earlier days, dances were performed at the funerals of great chiefs, and at the important religious festival of Inasi (First fruits). (See 18, vol. 2, pp. 131-135; 28, vol. 2, pp. 168-173; 37, p. 158.) Krämer (26, vol. 2, pp. 314-328) gives a description of Samoan dances, illustrated by photographs.

533 [535] Although dancing, song, and instrumental music usually go together, they are not always associated. Labillardière says that he heard an extremely monotonous duet upon bamboo flutes and mentions Pan's pipes, or flutes, of which the "tubes give full and not very extensive notes, and the highest 533 forms a fourth with the lowest." While I have not seen the Pan's pipes, I 534 have seen the nose flute (*fangufa.ıgu*), but this, too, is becoming rare. The blowing of the conch is still fairly common, and there are a number of the wooden drums (*lali*).

533 Mariner mentions *lave* and *fakaniua* as types of song. But the term *lave* is used for recitation, song, or for composition recited or sung.

FALAOLONGO[1]

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539
Falaolongo hard by Kailahi's cave,[2]
Fineingo and Tausisivavaki,
And the toa tree Tuihalafatai[3]
Its plaintive sighing in Avataliapi.[4]
I stood by Huafaikitama[5]
Smiling upward on the meadow.
Vailahi, my way is hidden,[6]
I remember Veingangana[7]
Playing hide-and-seek with Vaitakiafaie;
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind perchance is from the north,[8]
Is it blowing upon Keitahi,
Meitumu and the breaking wave,
Veiatavake and Vaoatokotoko?[9]
The wind has gone about,
Blown about the dripping water in Veitoto;[10]
Height above Lokupo with its clinging mist,[11]
By the road in the midst of the mountain,
The moon's soft glow and uprising
Flooding with light the *fatai* and the grass,[12]
By the pool-gemmed coast of Fotumoko.[13]
Dear weather shore of Tonga here am I.
The wind remains in the north,
Goes gently round on the Sacred Coast,[14]
On Veingangana and Vai Aku,[15]
My vain search in the deep for bonito;[16]
I long to go on to Huangalau,[17]
Borne hither the fame of its beauty;
Is the weather coast of Tonga told in chosen words[18]
By the sand of Laulea?
When uprisen is the moon,
And gleams on Fakaulunafa[19]
And the pool Valekatoua.
Dear weather-coast of Tonga here am I.

SONG OF FISHERS[1]

In the moons of Former Nit and Rain,[1]
Moon for this paddling on the sea,
Early has gone the king of Tefisi;[2]
Fast approaches a day of assembly.
On the morning's morn bring the boats around,
Ashore in Fasia, and early go—[3]
Tofoa at the dawn, Halakakala,[4]
And Houmafeo and Faiana,[5]
Fotuia, Ta'ane, and Omai.
Gathered are all the fisherman chiefs;
Let us look about for a teller of winds,[6]
On a day that is near for the kava ring.[7]
The nets have been lifted at Fakapu,[8]

O'er the face of Nuku has thunder sounded.[9]
In the channel [bonito] have eaten their prey,
They have dived below at Holaavaka,[10]
[The fishers] have scored at Matafota.[11]
Let us paddle about in Vainoa,[12]
Let us follow on in Hopohoponga,[13]
And Nimafuaatu here into the shallow.[14] 533
Cease from the chase in Peauapuaka—[15] 539
Alas and alack, this bonito is vanishing,
The headland of Late is left behind;[16]
From Tama yonder have they gone on[17]
To Upeupe to let them go.
But count, the reef has fruitful been.

SONG OF FISHERS[1]

Come, let us praise, O southern wind
The trawling ground, that ye may know,
Telekivavau and Telekitonga,[2]
Fetokopunga and eke Lalona.[3]
Tatohofa has pulled in fish[4]
On the night when the moon's first risen at dawn;[5]
We shall paddle along by Matafau,[6]
Houma-tau and Fonuaika.
The little fish swim hither and thither,[7]
We steer about, and no success.
At early dawn to Nonuku and Naa,[8]
To windward have gone the little fish,
When the *valu* goes over them he is pulled in.
The little *ulukau* have come to the top.[9]
The fish is lost, but 'tis the current.
Near is the night of the *palolo.*[10]
Come, let us chase o'er Auhangamea,[11]
And sleep, and trail the line.
Return, the little fish is *memea.*[12]
Valu and *ulua* are brought on board.[13]
Remember the night *mauna.*[14]
We shall trail the line to Toamotua,[15]
In this space [the fish] look at the prey.[16]
We pursue to Luahoko ere dawn,[17]
For the little fish show everywhere.
At Ofolanga let us go to sleep,
Let us trail the hook from the west.
'Tis a day when few are the little fish—
Good luck that we have remembered,[18]
Let us seek at Puke and Faleovalu,
For our hook [with its burdens] is broken.

PRAISE OF BEACHES

A note at the end of this piece says that it was to be performed *tuutauhoa,* that is, with men and women standing alternately, or with two rows, a dancer in the front row having another standing immediately behind. 533 539 535

The poem celebrates various beaches and other natural features on the coast of eastern Tongatabu. 823 The text, which is not reproduced as there is little to learn from it, shows the greater smoothness, and less force, which are the fruit of European education. It belongs to the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is divided into nine stanzas, with a chorus, sung after every stanza.

Give heed to me, our festive throng,
I shall tell the row of beaches,
The gathering place of the fleets of boats
When they plan to meet together.
I shall praise the strand Longonoa,
When the calm evening falls
Like a bird with fluttering wing
The dear shade of the crest of the land.
Strand Tukulolo we shall praise,
Alakifonua and Hilatali,
The dear standing of the great banyan tree,[1]
The Shade of Fulilangi.
I shall praise the strand of Leolava,[2]
A thing of all to delight the gaze,
Like the deck of a boat that is crowded
Dear stand of the town that is pleasing.[3]
I shall praise our sacred beach,
Early morn of a dewy night
A thing most lovely to me
Is to gaze at Kolongahau,[4]
That is hid in clinging mist,
Like a chief's head crowned with lime.
I shall praise the strand Metevae

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

533 That lies spread hither and yon,
539 A thing most lovely it is,
Its dear standing shame-faced,
535 Like a wrong-doer discovered,
823 Ensnared by its loveliness.
I shall praise the strand Foiaka,
In the place of Niutao the pleasing,
Sweet *sunufea-ni* with its blooming,[1]
And the smooth white sand with its gleaming.[2]
I shall praise the eastern strand,
The quarreling (waves) of the Taua-fanga;
Best of all beautiful things
Is to stand and look towards 'Onevai,
Which dear appears in the mist
Like a face upturned with smiling.
I shall praise the strand of fragrant flowers,
And the standing of Motu-tapu;
Lovely it is to me
When the wind is fair from the north,
Like the sounding of a flute
The dear murmur of swaying palms.

Chorus.
Youth, let us pace the dance,
And dance in unison;
And look upon our line of strands,
Lovely its appearance.
Aue, youth, let us dance,
And dance in unison,
And look upon our line of strands.

SONG OF FRAGRANT FLOWERS

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In this poem occur words for many of the different plaits and ways of making up leaves and flowers into necklaces and girdles. To a greater extent than among Europeans are plants and flowers prized, not because they are pretty, but because they are fragrant. Each of the six stanzas is followed by the chorus.

Harken to me my countrymen,
This praise of mine of heart of Nua.[3]
When it is evening I remember
In love the fragrance of its odors.
It is known by whoso knows this land,
Sweet-smelling garlands the food I seek.
Harken to me, O gathering,
And I shall speak my tale
Of our headlands of fragrant flowers,
Whither resort our wanderings.
The *tuituu* and *lavalavo*,[4]
Twine the *nusipalataha*,
Like an army in array;
Lifted up is the *lalaheilala*,
When merit is reckoned it is first,
See the thing that goes in beauty.
Fakaotusia and *alamea*,[5]
The armlet of a rambling man.
My *fakalotu* twined with *langakali*,[6]
Sweetly smelling from its sleep in sea water;[7]
It fills the space beneath my pillow,
And robs the mind of reason.
Hingano the lower in a double plait,[8]
Veevee and *tuituivao*,[9]
Pa'anga-pulupaki, gardenia strung together,
Faka-mata-moana is the wild *huni*.
When the dew falls I am crowned with a garland,
To be fragrant as day is at hand.
Thou who art stranger come and see,
When the flowers are op'ning on fragrant shrubs,
The headland with its blossoming
Is the thing of all most pleasing.
Plucked and strung on a ribbon's length,[9]
Fluttering in the wind the girdle's streamers,
Then it fills with the pride of beauty,
And most lovely is to me.

Chorus
Maiden, the wind is in the south,
Come dancing hither,
And blows on the pool Latai,[10]
Come dancing hither;
Let us turn to the town of faded garlands,[11]
And featly step our dances,
And pluck the *huni* and *langakali*
To wreathe our necks in this assembly.

deck of the smaller canoe, where he really belongs, and where his talent in song and verse is useful, to spring to the steer-oar. "That we may be equal" seems to be an equalizing of Mamaeaepoto with men in general for, though it would not seem that Falepapalangi claimed much skill in a canoe, still he had normal hands and Mamaeaepoto had not. The oars were in pairs, and the sense may be more exclusively the figurative one of claiming equality with Falepapalangi, who represents himself and Mamaeaepoto as a pair of rowers or steersmen, working in successful partnership at their task of providing entertainment. 539

14. Falepapalangi returns to the claim of seamanship with another gibe at Mamaeaepoto's hands. The *huasi* was a short pole, lashed outboard from the outrigger canoe, on which, in rough weather, a man stood, moving along it to keep the boat's balance; from here he also gave sailing directions. Obviously it was not the place for a man who was not physically perfect. Furthermore, if he needed anything, for instance food, it was simply thrown to him. Hence the gibe. [501] [502]

15. The word *ama* is the name of the smaller of the two canoes in a double canoe, where the passengers and those not on duty sit, and pass the time in conversation and singing; *mata'u* is the name of the larger of the two canoes where the work is done. Hence *lau-ama*, sing, *lau-mata'u*, work. [502]

16. "Stand in the song," that is, dance; a more literal translation would be "sing standing." The hands are clapped in much of the dancing. [535]

Pages 69-70. A dance song of Falepapalangi

1. The phrase *toi ke lilo* is from the game of hide-and-seek. The poet advises the rival to keep out of sight, but if he is unwilling to be hidden at any rate not to attempt to equalize himself with men who can really do things. [524]

2. The word *lupe* means pigeon, and has reference to the sitting on the deck of the canoe chatting and singing. The pictures of sea life throughout the piece are to be taken literally, and with metaphorical application to skill in poetry.

3. The decking in the forward part of canoe, where men fit for difficult work were stationed, was termed *faka-lakepa*. In rough weather men sometimes lay there, forming a living bulwark to prevent the boat from being swamped. [501] [502]

4. I have not been able to ascertain the meaning of the word *takotofa*, but from the context it seems to be a part of the boat for passengers and men not on duty.

5. The metaphor changes to that of a sea-bird seeking food. The rival is the bird, wearied with a long and fruitless flight, "I will get in ahead of him by a short cut, by another road."

6. The pigeon-snaring mounds, which were such a favorite theme of poetry. [538]

7. Possibly refers to a victory of the bard at Matahina, a reef in Vavau, a famous shark-fishing ground. If Mamaeaepoto is the rival all the more point is given to Falepapalangi's claim of victory over him in respect of localities in Vavau.

8. The lines beginning "In the land, thou saidst, I delight" have some reference to actual seamanship, yet the main current of meaning concerns poetry. When it looked as though Tonga would be beaten in the contests of bards, Falepapalangi was able to steer her to victory.

Pages 70-71. A poem of Mamaeaepoto

1. Pifita and Ulialangatau are probably *matapule* of Ulukalala. 539

2. That you would honor me. 484

3. His skill in verse is the reason that the poet was to hold himself in readiness to sail. 505

4. The remark is addressed to the assemblage to whom he actually recited the poem. 837

5. Two currents of thought are expressed; one complimentary, the other not. Women are not regarded as useful members of the crew in working the boat, but are appreciated for their assistance in minor matters that make for the comfort of voyaging, and especially for the brightness they give by their presence and conversation and song. [562]

6. "We shall fashion a wonder boat, whose different parts are the localities named; our boat shall be a song celebrating all these places." Since different localities are accustomed to cooperate in large tasks, this carries the sense of a grandiloquent call by the disappointed man to all these places—islands, hills, and beaches.

7. Moahengi is apparently the name of a man in Uiha, an island of Haapai.

her brother Fatafehi, who succeeded his father as Tui Tonga, were children of Telea 533
and Mataukipa, who was the granddaughter of a Tui Tonga. The placing of her
name at the head of the poem does not mean that she had anything to do with the 539
composition of it; nor that she is the subject of it. Apparently the bard has named
his composition and the dance for which it was sung after this great lady. Another 643
piece in the collection from which this is taken is associated with her name. Probably
both pieces and others were sung to the one dance for this piece is much shorter 535
than the song which accompanies the average dance, and it is not unlikely that this
and the preceding poem were performed together. The first was concerned with bonito
fishing, and this with fishing for *valu* by trailing a hook astern of the canoe. The 226
line, now-a-days at least, is fifty or more yards long.

2. Telekivavau and Telekitonga are a remote little group of uninhabited islets, 103
at the southeast extremity of Haapai.

3. Fetokopunga and Lalona, islets in Haapai. 103

4. The division of the word Tatohofa is uncertain; it is taken, probably cor- 552
rectly, as one word, the name of a boat.

5. One of the nights of the Tonga month. The phases of the moon were care-
fully observed by the fisherman, as some days, or nights, were *aho ika*, fish days, that 533
is, favorable days for the catching of fish. The *aho ika* seem to have varied for
different localities, or chiefs, which is much the same thing, and fish. A complete 539
list of *aho ika* would furnish doubtless an interesting contribution to the study of 226
lucky and holy days; but it is doubtful if it is possible for such a list to be recovered
from the memory of living Tongans. The phase of the moon *uluaki ahoia* would 821
seem to be one of the *aho ika* for the *valu*. I have translated *uluaki* literally as
first; but as a matter of fact is seems that the first of these phases of the moon is
called *feahoaki*.

6. Matafau, Houmatau, reefs; Fonuaika, an island in Haapai. 533

7. The "little fish" (*mafua*) are the smaller fish which serve as food for the 539
bigger fish, the *valu*, whose pursuit is the subject of the poem. There is frequent 103
mention of the *mafua*, sometimes with the name of some particular fish. The fisher-
men direct their course by the appearance of the shoals of smaller fish on which the 825
valu, and other large fish, feed.

8. Nonuku, an island; Naa, unidentified, but clearly the name of an island, a 103
reef or a tract of sea.

9. The *ulukau* is a small fish. In this reference a shoal of *ulukau* are the 825
mafua.

10. For the remarkable regularity of the appearance of the palolo, the well- 825
known sea-annelid, *Palolo viridis* (32; 6, pp. 135-36).

11. Auhangamea, the sea between the islands of Uiha and Uoleva, in Haapai—a 103
good trawling ground.

12. The fishermen see a shoal of small fish, but on approaching them find that 825
they are *memea*, a fish which the big fish will not eat, so it is useless to go on in that
direction.

13. The *ulua* is a large fish. The names *lupolupo, memea, lupo,* and *tafauli ulua* 825
are said to be used of successive stages of growth of the same species of fish.

14. The *manua* is the name of a night noted by bonito fishers; at that time the 821
moon is past the full.

15. The text reads *ko toamotua;* the emendation *ki Toamotua* is the conjecture 226
of the best informed of living Tongans, but Toamotua is not identified.

16. A hopeful fishing ground is indicated; big fish are there seeking *mafua*.
The original text reads *vahi ni,* which is not intelligible; *vaha ni* is merely a con-
jecture.

17. Luahoko and Ofolanga are islands in Haapai. 103

18. After the ill success indicated, the fishermen are about to give up, but remember Puke and Faleovalu, spaces of sea within the Haapai group, and go there to try their luck. The last line is extremely terse, and means the fishermen are returning home well satisfied, having caught so many and such big fish that the hook is broken.

Pages 117-118. A praise of beaches

1. The banyan tree is the one under which Captain Cook addressed a great 533
gathering of Tongans. Since that time it has been popularly called Captain Cook's 539

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533 tree; but its Tongan name is Malumalu o Fulilangi (Shade of Fulilangi). It is not
539 known who is the Fulilangi thus distinguished, but the name was not uncommon among
the Tui Pelehake, and has also been borne by other chiefs.

538 2. Leolava (Many voices) is probably so-called because people from many parts,
823 including other countries, for example Fiji and Samoa, congregated here in the
entourage of the Tui Tonga.

[552] 3. The town that is pleasing (*kolo fakalata*) is Mua, the Tui Tonga's capital,
scene of many pleasures.

[103] 4. Kolongahau is a stone wharf near the old-time residence of the Tui Haatakalaua.
There is also reclamation work here, undertaken when the place became the
[644] residence of the Tui Haatakalaua.

5. The word *sunufea ni* is unintelligible. Probably it is the corruption of a
[504] foreign word, not unlikely the English fern. In the last stanza of the poem the line
[192] about the wind from the north includes the word *fea-uini* (fair-wind).

6. "Smooth white sand" is a conjectural translation of *fala-sina*, white mat. The
[192] word *fala*, mat, is often used of smooth sward or sand, and *hina*, not *sina*, is the usual
Tongan form of this word.

533 Page 118. A song of fragrant flowers

1. Nua or Lotonua is a place name. There is a locality called Nua in Mua,
539 the chief village of eastern Tongatabu, and the old seat of the Tui Tonga.

2. The names *tuituu*, *lavalava*, *nusipalataha*, and *lalaheilala* are of various types
824 of leaf and flower ornaments for the neck and bosom. The generic name is *kahoa*.
[103] These, and other flower and leaf ornaments are *kakala* (sweet-smelling things).

3. Other types of flower ornaments are *fakaotusia*, *alamea*, and *fakalotu*; *fakaotusia* and *alamea* apparently are decorations for arms and ankles (*vesa*).

4. The *langakali* is a flower.

5. "Sleep in sea-water:" the flowers and leaves of a plant are sprinkled with sea-water, and left all night (*faka-mohe*) and thus their full fragrance is brought out. At night the fragrant flowers are placed underneath the wooden pillow, and so sweet are the scents that they "distract the mind."

6. The double plaiting round the top of the sisi leaf girdle is called *funganiua*, the bottom one *laloni*, and the flower *hingano* is twined into it.

7. Types of plaiting of the leaf and flower ornaments are termed *veevee*, *tuituivao*, *paangapulupaki*, and *fakamatamoana*.

8. To plait blossoms together without stringing on anything is called *kako*.

9. Ribbon, of the inner bark of the fau is called *lou*.

[103] 10. Latai, a pool on the reef, near Laulea, the famous surfriding place on the
weather coast of eastern Tongatabu.

11. The "town of faded garlands" (*kolo ngatuvai*) is Mua, whither at the time of festivals are brought so many garlands, which finally, are thrown aside and fade

533 Page 119. Malokula.

539 1. Tonga, meaning Tongatabu.
2. Leaf of *pua* (the King, George Tupou I).
[527] 3. An enterprise large enough to collect sufficient money.

[434] Page 119. Laughter of women

[538] 1. This probably may be considered as a love poem, at least in part. Direct
expressions of love and passion are extremely rare in Tongan compositions. The
references to sport, fishing, pigeon-snaring, and surf-riding are partly literal and
partly figurative of the pursuit of love, and throughout is the sense of the pleasantness of woman's companionship.

[103] 2. Finehika is a locality in Mua.

3. The *moonia* and the *tinatila* are plants, *tinatila* is said to be like a passion-
[824] flower. Probably both are late introductions.

4. Fuaahoia is the nickname of a chief.

[551] 5. Fakimamana; locality in Mua.

533 6. Namalata; place name in Eua (?).

7. Holaavaka; beach in Eua (?).

539 8. Mohekaelanga; place probably in Eua.

9. Utulongoaa, the rocky coast of eastern Tongatabu.

103

643 more into the hands of great lords, notably the Tui Kanokupolu of Western
644 Tongatabu. The decline of prestige which inevitably follows sooner or
565 later on that of real power was already apparent before the coming of
178 the Europeans and Christianity hastened the political changes which have
almost completed the process.]

539 **546. Hala o Taanea:** Way of Taanea.
576 This is an expression used by one in claiming for himself, not arro-
554 gantly but almost apologetically, a place or right from which he has been
276 formerly debarred. Different tales are told of the origin of the phrase.
One account says that there was a great warrior called Taanea who had no seat in the kava ring until at last he went to a kava ring and with the customary word of apology, much like the English "Excuse me," merely sat down in the circle. Another account refers the name Taanea not to a man but to the place Taanea in Vavau. According to this story a Tui Tonga who was living in Vavau was one day being borne along in his litter and came to a place where a man named Fukofuka was digging. Fukofuka left his work and took a place among the Tui Tonga's bearers and went right on without a change till the party reached the cemetery at Taanea. The Tui Tonga then thanked him for keeping so long at this task without a rest and told him to run, and that he could have as much land as he ran round without stopping. Fukofuka, notwithstanding his previous labors, completed the circuit of a large piece of land which the Tui Tonga duly gave him. This is said to be the reason that the chief Vahai holds Taanea, for Fukofuka belongs to a younger branch of the Vahai family. Fukofuka, apparently when he returned from his run, found the Tui Tonga drinking kava and was given by him a seat in the upper part of the circle (*alofi*). Fukofuka, with the appropriate word of apology, passed to his place. So anyone going to a place or claiming a privilege to which he is not strictly entitled may say "Way of Taanea," as a sort of apology.

539 **547. Ka i Mua:** Speaking in Mua.
565 Applied to one who is expert in the procedure of ceremonies, dances,
554 and other functions. He is a man of sufficiently chiefly rank to be among
555 the important people in the chiefly town of Mua, a name most often used
[103] for the important village in Eastern Tongatabu associated with the Tui
Tonga, but which is also a name of the chief town in a country. Applied generally to one who is very skillful in anything; it is only to be expected that so-and-so should be proficient.

539 **548. Nofo i he api Moli kae fu hala:** Living in the compound
644 called Moli yet clapping wrongly.
535 The compound called Moli was a residence of the Tui Tonga and was
276 of course a center for the practising of dances and for all the ceremonial
connected with the kava and such matters. In some dances time is kept by clapping the hands, and in kava drinking the person whose name is called to receive the cup that has just been filled claps his hands to indicate his position. Clapping, therefore, is used in this expression as a type

of the general behavior and ceremonial connected with dances, kava, and 539
other matters whose chief center and exposition is in the Tui Tonga's 644
court. To live in the midst of opportunity and yet to obtain little ad- 276
vantage from it. 535

549. Pulu e tuku: Easy with the rope; let down gently. 539

The *tuku* is in this instance the rope with which the slab was lowered 643
on to the top of a vault. It is said that the man whose duty it was to 764
arrange the body of a Tui Tonga in the vault would often try to steal one of the fine mats wound round the dead chief's body. To be able the better to accomplish this purpose he would endeavor to get one of his friends on the end of the rope with which the stone cover was lowered over the grave, and would adjure him to let down slowly. If he were shut in the grave he would have to stay there and die, as the vault could not be opened to let him out without imperilling the life of the new Tui Tonga who had just succeeded.

We have heard this phrase repeated with the addition "that I may live"; "Let down gently that I may live," which looks as though at one period the man who descended into the vault ran some danger of being shut in even without wasting time down below trying to steal valuables from the body of the chief. One might hazard the conjecture that it marks a transition from a period when the man who went down into the grave with the Tui Tonga always stayed there and that the story of the mat stealing is an invention of later times. In front of a row of Langis, or Tui Tonga vaults in Mua, Tongatabu, is a row of smaller vaults which are said to be the escorts to the larger Tui Tonga graves to which they are contiguous. It is stated that these vaults contain the bodies of the [644] *matapules* of the Tui Tonga, though there is no statement that the *matapules* were made eligible for the grave for the special purpose of occupying their proper official position in the entourage of their dead chiefs. Sometimes the expression is enlarged, *Pulu ho tuku tata ho vae,* Let go gently with your rope, dig in your feet.

Proverbially the expression means to go slowly and give one a chance of escape.

550. Sani Tungua: Tungua glory. 539

The island of Tungua, in the Haapai group, although it is tiny and 644
out of the way, was yet the residence of the Tamaha, the child of the Female Tui Tonga the peak of Tongan nobility. The Female Tui Tonga also seems to have spent much time there. One of the two chiefs who were the usual mates for the Female Tui Tonga holds this island as part of his estates and the modern holders of the title have frequently resided there. All this chiefliness clinging about the islet of Tungua 539
is the boast of its people but the expression "*Sani Tungua,*" rather strangely, 183
is used ironically of one who boasts of what he will do for another and 829
what he will give to him but who has not the material backing to make good his words. The idea evidently is that the resources of the little island are not commensurate with its chiefly pretensions.

613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539

Used of an immoderate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is doubly an immoderate boast. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists. 829 648

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai.* 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji,* or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki,* and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki,* in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai.* A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai.* Applied to one who is adept at sticking to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel. [157]

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing. 535 533

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance. 539

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers. 535 183 [524] [526] [537]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **618. Nofo a mama kae kailao e fakafaanga:** Men doing nothing
535 while the gods dance.

776 More strictly *fakafaanga* seems to mean the material objects, including
[787] priests, in which the gods appeared. The phrase indicates that it is useless
[793] for men to let the gods have the entertainment of their dances while they themselves do nothing. Men are unable to share the enjoyment of the denizens of the unseen world, and so they must get to work and make their own fun.

539 **619. Taka i lalo hakanga:** Living below the dancing place, that
535 is, in close proximity to it.

183 One who lives in a place where dances are constantly learned and
868 performed has exceptional opportunities for becoming proficient. So the expression is used of one who enjoys great facilities for acquiring some art, knowledge, or other benefit, material, mental or spiritual.

UNCLASSIFIED PROVERBS

539 **620. Afi jii tupu ai e afi lahi:** Small fire, there springs from it
183 the great fire.

A warning of the sort common in so many languages and literatures against the unwisdom of neglecting evil in its small beginnings. It is possible to use it also as an expression of the great good works that spring from humble beginnings.

539 **621. Alualu i mala tau ki monu:** Going along in misfortune,
777 reaching good fortune.

It is used of one who, after being long involved in ill luck, at length
[797] experiences a change of fortune and has prosperity. As a matter of actual present day experience one frequently hears it applied by the natives to their having been so long involved in the darkness of heathenism and having in these latter times come out into the light of Christianity.

[823] It is said that *Mala* (Curse, Misfortune), and *Monu* (Blessing, Good Fortune), are two places, and that one who has reached Mala finds it very difficult to return and get to Monu.

622. Alualu i monu tau ki mala: This is the reverse of No. 621.

Going along in good fortune, reaching misfortune, and is used of the change from prosperity to adversity.

539 **623. Fai mai ete meimei tangi:**

152 We have not succeeded in finding a contemporary Tongan able to
571 explain this. All the words are in common use, and would seem to have
695 some such meaning as "present (a case) almost weeping," as of one making a request with such earnestness that he is on the point of tears; or, taking the word *tangi* in the sense of "appeal, make a request," instead of that of "crying, weeping," we might render as, "I am come with almost a

often divert themselves, viz. shooting rats, I became, 175
after a time, almost as dextrous as the natives. To 224
provide for this sport, they take out the kernel of 565
the cocoa-nut, which being burned and chewed,
the servants are sent to strew it in places near the
road, in fences, and in hollow trees. Meanwhile [525]
the chiefs, with bows and arrows, take their station
near, and making a squeaking noise exactly like
the rats, these animals soon come out to feed upon
the nuts, when the chiefs, ranged in order each for
his turn, shoot at them for a wager; he that kills
the most, in the same number of shots, wins the
game.

They are a very active people, yet they often 175
spend whole days, when they have no particular 517
employment, in luxurious indolence. These days [461]
they generally close in dancing and singing; of [535]
which they are peculiarly fond. [539]

The chief will send round the district, and collect 175
together thirty, forty, or fifty young people of 535
both sexes, to dance with his attendants by the light [373]
of tomais, or torches, formed, as we before showed, [416]
from the unctuous bark of the cocoa-tree. [824]

These dances are very beautiful. Young women
of the most graceful figure and comely features assemble [301]
on these occasions, their dark ringlets bespangled [824]
with aromatic flowers of a peculiar whiteness,
their necks and shoulders encircled with
wreaths of variegated flowers, tastefully strung to-

175 gether like beads, their graceful limbs covered only
535 with a thin drapery, and in some cases, only shaded
[301] with an entwined garland of gee-leaves.

[824] Their dances are very much diversified, and performed with admirable grace and uniformity, by companies of eighty or a hundred, who all move together with the greatest exactness. I never saw soldiers go through their evolutions with more prompt regularity than these companies time the diversified motions that compose their dances.

They seem in their element, when dancing: such is the ease, pleasure, grace and activity which they exhibit, in every intricate part of this favourite amusement.

175 Their musick is not so pleasing. The principal
533 instrument is a kind of drum, formed out of a log
of wood, hollowed through with a long small aperture,
175 and laid lengthways upon two pieces of
534 wood. This is beaten whilst eight or ten bamboees,
of different lengths, with pieces of wood fastened
and bound to the end of them, are struck
against the barrel, and produce a sound according to
175 the length of the stick. Of these drums they have
533 two or three; which, with the bambooes and the
[534] singing, make a little rough concert. Their songs are
beautiful and melodious; partaking more of a lively
175 than a plantive air, but rather monotonous. These
535 dances are often performed in particular spots where
there are large trees. To these places the young

people resort for this purpose. They are frequently kept up till midnight, when performed in a chief's house, and sometimes till morning, by an interchange of performers, who alternately retire to rest, and rise again to dance. 175 595

So fond are they of this amusement that they dance almost on all occasions. However extravagantly they have mourned for the dead, they generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy: in which I have seen the women so eager that they have forgotten all sense of decorum and thrown off all incumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion. [165 292]

This is the general mode of life at Tongataboo. They never rise, but the Kava is prepared, and distributed in the exact order I have described; and immediately the tackhangers call for the cooks in the Badoo, or Kitchen, who bring the baked yams, and present them to the guests. If there is no serious business for the chiefs, indolent slumbers, or the amusements of conversation and choice, fill up the middle part of the day, which is however sometimes diversified with boxing, or other athletic exercises; and luxurious festivities close the evening. 175 512

Such an indulgent life, however, is only in the power of the chiefs. The lower classes, as will be farther shown, are obliged to labour, not only for themselves, but for their superiors; and, after all, 175 565 [512]

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12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 seduced me: but it would answer no useful end.

797 For the same reason, though it might serve to show the gross wickedness of a people, in many respects generous, humane and friendly; and might evince their need of that glorious light of christianity, which modern illuminati would extinguish, as darkening the light of simple nature, (which, notwithstanding all the refined speculations of sophistry, is too fully proved to be wholly corrupt,) I [535] forbear to describe the disorderly meetings that were held, at particular spots, for nocturnal dances, and the tumultuous excursions of young men [836] through the country during the night.* If, notwithstanding the light of divine truth, and the regulations of a police, in christian countries, so many harlots fill the streets of every populous town, it is not wonderful that "feenetakabous," the name by which, in these Islands, these depraved creatures are known, should abound in the polluting groves of Tonga.

175 Here, however, to the honor of the Tongas, it should be acknowledged, that no Arreoy society [829] exists on the Island: the idea of the abominable practises of the Arreoys at Otaheite, they hold in [839] detestation. They are never guilty of murdering [841] their children: on the contrary, they have a numerous [842] offspring, to which they are very much attach-

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* Quædam ignorare sapientis est.

175 nicated the affair to the daughter, who consented
584 to the match. But, as the choice of a husband is not
in the power of the daughters, but he is provided by
the discretion of the parent, an instance of refusal
on the part of the daughter, is unknown at Tongataboo.
[586 This, however, is deemed no hardship there,
[837 where divorce and unchastity are so general. Some
power of accepting or rejecting a partner for life,
seems highly reasonable for the fair inhabitants of
an island, where marriage, sanctioned and confirmed
by laws human and divine, is justly considered
an inviolable covenant for life: and a chaste fidelity,
the pure fountain of its bliss, which would be
destroyed by the least contamination.

175 Preparations were then made for the nuptials.
585 The joyful bridegroom arrived, and the virgin was
introduced to him at the head of the same ceremonious
procession described above, only in the latter
part of the day. Almost the whole district was
collected together to celebrate the marriage, and
partook plenteously of the provisions collected for
[585 the occasion. At the close of the festival, the attendant
women took the modest bride, who was seated
by the side of her husband, by the hand, and
gracefully conducted her in procession through the
range of guests, to an apartment prepared for the
occasion: to which he also soon retired; whilst
the numerous visitors spent the night in entertainments
and dances.

These dances were performed with admirable skill. Every possible motion and inflexion of the body was made with a uniformity and rapidity, which the torpid limbs of Europeans could not, except after a very long course of exercise from earliest youth, imitate. The utmost order and decorum prevailed throughout this festive exhibition of agility and joy: which terminated only with the dawn. 175 535 585

After amusing ourselves for many days, on this Island, and receiving the most friendly attentions from the chiefs, Mulkaamair's son fixed a period for our return; and a number of canoes assembled to accompany us. 175 797 484

At day-break, we took leave of the old chief, whom we had visited, and his young female relation, whom I had espoused, and sailed off for Tongataboo, which lay at the distance of sixty or seventy miles. The canoes sailed at the rate of six or seven miles in an hour, and brought us to the shores of Tonga, in the evening; where we all repaired to our respective districts. [501]

I was charmed on my return, with the flourishing appearance of my plantation. The bread-fruit, cocoa, and plantain trees had already shot forth branches, which promised, ere long, to cast around them a friendly shade. Some bread-fruit trees, almost as large as the oak, had indeed spread their sheltering arms, for years, near the spot where I built my fallee; and now their fruits hung in clus- 175 241 [797]

175 in their hands, the chiefs, arrayed in various dresses,
651 which distinguished the districts over which they
presided, reverently approached him in regular rotation,
in a slow, solemn pace, with a kind of monotous
song[1] and upon their bended knees, presented
the first productions of their abbees. They then
rose up and passed off in the same order, and with
the same solemnity.

175 When the ceremony of offering the first fruits of
535 their fields is completed, they usually have a dance,
and often fight with branches of the cocoa-trees,
175 before they return to their respective districts. In
669 appearance they all did so on this occasion; but a
[643] plot had been formed for assassinating Dugonagaboola
and making Mulkaamair supreme chief. This
[634] was planned by one Loogolala, a chief of Tongataboo,
who had attached to himself a number of enterprising
young men, through whose assistance he was
much advancing in wealth and power. Mulkaamair
175 was his distant relation. To make their design
669 more secret, his two canoes which were large
726 and filled with his fellow conspirators, set off as
though they were going away, but waited off the
reef, at Ahogge, till evening; when they returned,
by land, to Mooa; where Dugonagaboola continued
that night, as well as Mulkaamair and his party.
As soon as they arrived, they proceeded to station
an armed watch in every road leading to and from
the residence of Dugonagaboola; that none might

[1] [Errata: this should read monotonous. Cf. errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 235--Analyst]

585 eat. Most of the party then returned to Pangai, but the
[574] bride and groom, chaperoned by Fa stayed in Toula until
evening. At this time, this second group returned to Pangai
together with the remainder of the bride's family. Mele,
[292] the bride, was wearing her ceremonial skirt, the rest of the
party carrying the sleeping outfit *(mohenga)* which is her
gift to her husband. This outfit consisted of two sleeping-
[513] mats, two small coverings of bark cloth, two pillows and a
[556] basket in which her ceremonial skirt will be kept (this
[565] outfit, incidentally, is rather poor; a wealthier commoner
girl would have at least twelve sleeping-mats in her outfit as
well as many fathoms of bark cloth).

585 In Pangai the wedding party met at Semisi's house (the
mother's brother of the groom). Tui's wife, Eniketi, brought
574 a small piece of bark cloth suitable for a skirt. This she
276 placed round the bride's waist after removing the one the
bride was already wearing. Semisi had meanwhile prepared
a feast. It consisted of four large yams, four giant *taro,*
and a small pig. While the food was cooking, a *kava*-circle
was formed. It consisted of four women including the bride
and eleven men, all relatives of the bride and groom. The
groom Paula, pounded the root while the woman Loise made
the *kava.* The cups of *kava* were called by the groom's
mother's mother's sister's son. When the *kava* was finished,
the oven was opened and all went outside to eat. This was
about nine o'clock in the evening.

More *kava* was served inside the house. There was
[533] singing and solo-dancing by the bride's younger sister until
[535] two o'clock in the morning. When she finished dancing, the
younger sister was given a small bark-cloth skirt by Eniketi.
At this time all the *kava* was finished and the bride's group
585 returned to their own village of Toula. Tui and his wife
slept at one end of the house while the bride and groom
833 slept at the other end of the house. There was no intercourse on this night nor for the four following nights (five
nights in all). Intercourse with a virgin is termed *fai hono
api,* "to make or cultivate a plantation" (the more general
term for intercourse being *unoho*)—an obvious reference
to a metaphorical planting of seed in the woman—and in
village theorizing, a groom shows his respect and affection
for his bride by waiting five nights or six or longer for his

276 It is hard to give adequate feeling for the manifold
574 interrelations of the *kava*-drinking circle in village life. It
571 is to be realized that the villager has few other outlets for
182 his sociability. Old-style Tongan dancing has practically
vanished as a folk-activity. None in the village has adopted
[535] the white man's dancing. The church does not sponsor
[178] social gatherings except choir-practice meetings where
[177] opportunities for sociability are rare. The men's work takes
them for the most part to their gardens by day. *Kava*-
[799] drinking provides good reason therefore for coming together
during the evenings to discuss topics of common interest.
In a very real sense a large village *kava*-circle is the Pangai
equivalent to the New England town-meeting. It provides
an outlet for social impulses and a forum in which matters
of common concern may be argued. Because the composition
of any *kava*-group changes materially from one night to the
next, it is possible for the village to develop a uniformity of
opinion and at the same time to avoid any splitting of the
village into conflicting or partisan sub-groups. Four
churches and four religious dogmas in a small village might
[795] be a source of tension when religious belief is still a matter
of life and death to the believer. There is no tendency in the
village for religious differences to be significant in the formation
of *kava*-groups. Hence the *kava*-circle provides a
common and neutral ground where men may meet on the
basis of social need and for purely social purposes.

276 It has been evident throughout this discussion that *kava*-
574 drinking in this commoner-village of Pangai has none of
565 those overtones of elaborate formality and delight in social
184 design for its own sake which are so characteristic of the
kava-circles among the Tongan noble class and also among
[171] the chiefly class of Samoa and other islands of western
Polynesia. The villager is of course aware of this formality
[576] and etiquette as practised elsewhere in Tonga.[28] He has
occasionally watched in all probability, a formal *kava*-party
elsewhere when nobles have met or royalty has been greeted.

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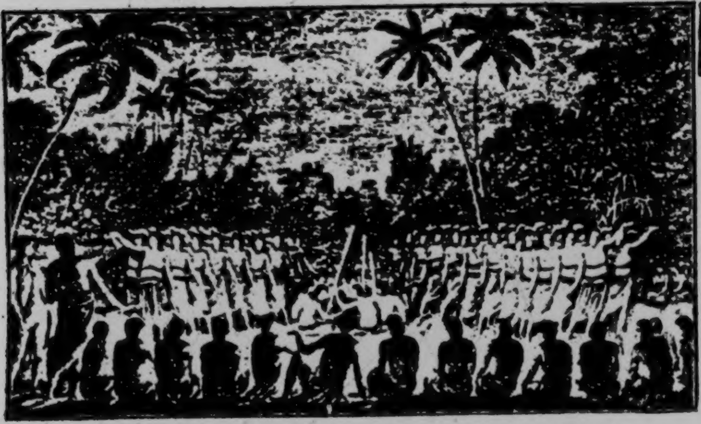
[28] The formal *kava*-circle with all its etiquette, rank-symbolism, and customs is well summarised by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 156-170). This account should be consulted to gain some idea of the many differences between the informal village *kava*-circle and the formal circle composed of those of chiefly and royal rank.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

mander, it is probable that the severity of the punishments has been exaggerated. 175 177 609

The chiefs owed their visitors no gratitude. Every present they had received, every condescension shown to them, had been repaid by liberal gifts of provisions. The ships were filled with treasures as precious in their eyes as gold would have been in the eyes of their visitors, and in a few days they would sail away never to return. Why, they thought, should they not prevent this? For the details of the conspiracy they had recourse to Finau, who had seen more of the white men than any of the others. Preparations had already been made for the assemblage of a vast concourse for the performance of dances in honour of the visitors: what would be easier than to fall upon the white men during a night dance by torchlight, conceal the bodies, and, when a party came from the ships to look for

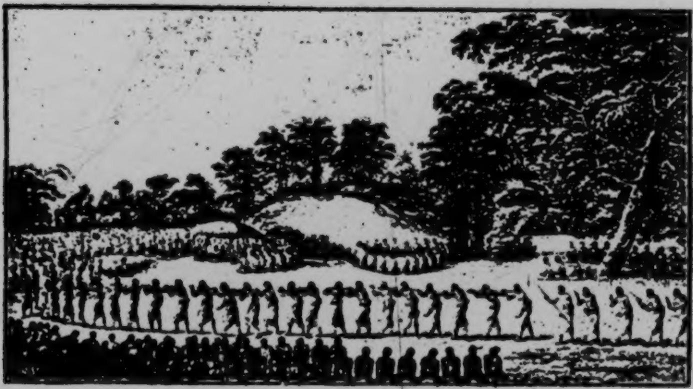


A bo-mee *or night-dance at Hacpai, June 1777.* (From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

[535]
[516]

drawn, and it was not until he had given them solemn 175
assurances of their safety that they consented to return. 177
The stolen arms were eventually recovered through the 609
medium of the chiefs, who were not in the least concerned that one of the thieves, who had been wounded with a ball, was not expected to live.[1]

Cook now prepared to leave Tonga, but contrary winds 175
detained him long enough to witness the ceremony of the 177
609
643
782
[535]



The great inaji *at which Captain Cook was present, June 1777.*
(From a steel engraving in the British Museum.)

inaji, or the presentation of the first-fruits to the gods in the person of the Tui Tonga, their representative on earth. The ceremonial, the dresses, the wooden symbols for the yams, puzzled him extremely. Though forbidden to approach, he forced his way into the inner circle that surrounded the Tui Tonga, and was allowed to remain on the

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[1] This man was seen alive and well sixteen years later by D'Entrecasteaux-Labillardière.

APPENDIX

TONGAN MUSIC

533 535 THE music of the Tongans was inseparable from the dance (by which I mean the rhythmic movements of any part of the body), and it therefore esteemed rhythm before melody or harmony. There were two principal forms, the *Mé‘e-tu‘u-baki* (dance standing up with paddles) and the *Otuhaka* (song, with [177] gestures). Since the inculcation of English hymn-singing a third form, known as the *Lakalaka*, which is music composed by Tongans on the European model, has been introduced, and of this the Tongans are inordinately fond. Fortunately the taste of the older chiefs and the influence of the French missionaries have been strong enough to preserve the old forms intact, and both the *Mé‘e-tu‘u-baki* and the *Otuhaka* are given on ceremonial occasions, though their ultimate decay is certain.

533 The specimens of Polynesian music that have found their way into the text-books are, from Mariner downward, nearly all inaccurate. Written down by untrained musicians, they have afterwards been "faked" to bring them into line with our notation, and (infamy of infamies) harmonised! The visit of a composer

126 the music down phrase by phrase, because they were
533 incapable of picking up the melody where they had left
it; the only way was to make them begin each time at
the beginning, and carry the score a few notes further
with every repetition. Moreover, it was discovered that
Phineas seldom sang the same phrase in exactly the
same notes, for the melody is overlaid with innumerable
turns and ornaments at the will of the singer, and these
126 are impossible to represent in our notation. Two hours
at a time being as much as writer or singer could stand
with safety, the work took several days, but, thanks to
the good sense of Phineas and the patience of Webber,
a valuable collection was ultimately made. For the
notes I am, of course, indebted to Amherst Webber.

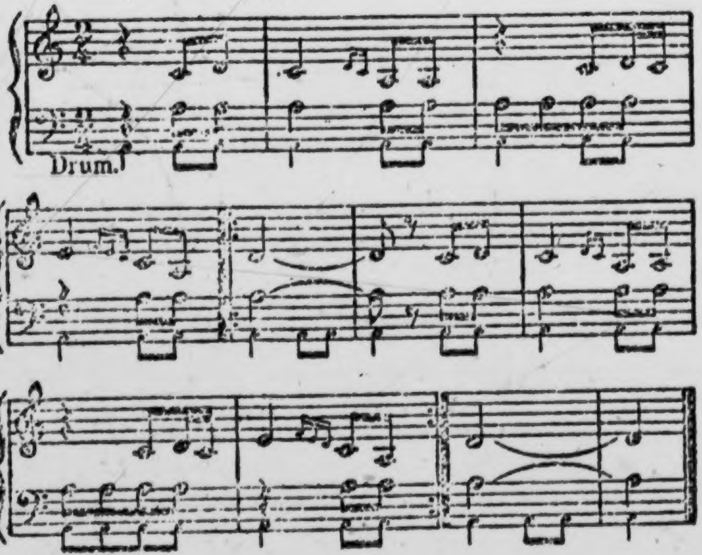
I. THE "ME'E-TU'U-BAKI."

535 A good drawing of this dance is to be found in
534 *Cook's Voyages*, and, as Mariner also has described it, I
need say no more than that it is performed by men,
drawn up in one line or two, who perform certain slow
and stately evolutions, accompanying the music by
twirling a light wooden instrument carved in the shape
[533] of a paddle. The rhythm is set by three large wooden
drums, and a number of men sitting round them sing
the words, which consist generally of a single phrase,
533 endlessly reiterated. Unlike the *Otuhaka*, the *Me'e-tu'u-baki* is not contrapuntal, and, though a number of
voices maintain one note while the others sing the
melody, it may be said to be sung in unison. To the
European ear, despite its marked character, it is indescribably monotonous, for the words have no meaning,
and the phrase is repeated for twenty minutes at a

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

stretch, without any variation except an occasional 533
crescendo. The native, however, regarding it as a mere accompaniment, concentrates his attention on the dance, which, though also monotonous to our eyes, is full of ancient grace and dignity to his.

MEE-TUU-BAKI.

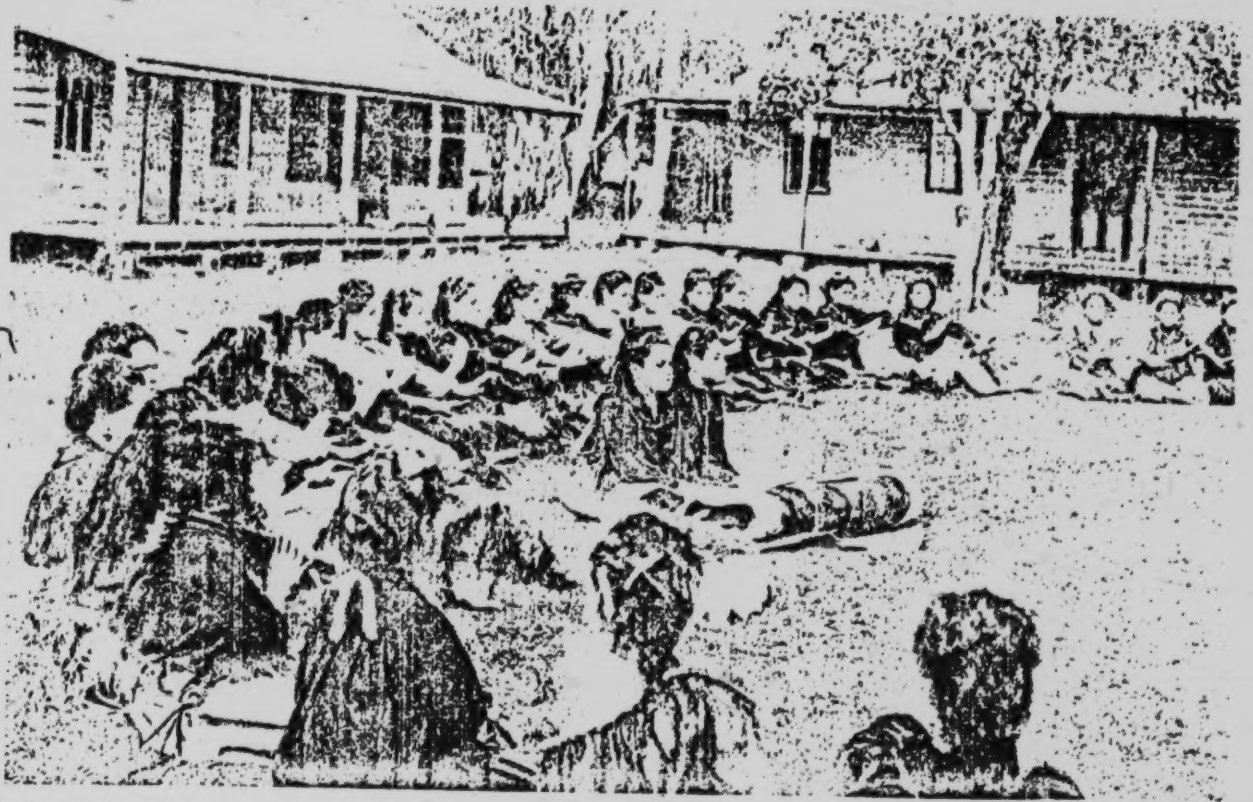


2. THE "OTUHAKA."

Though it may be performed standing, the singers of the *Otuhaka* generally sit in a single line, loaded with garlands and anointed with scented oil. The feature [535]
of the performance is the *haka*, or gesture-dance, for though the performers may be sitting, it is still a dance.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902 OU9 Tonga OU9

[facing p.222]



From a photograph by *J. Martin, Auckland*

THE OTUHAKA

The two drummers sit in the middle of the semicircle

To face page 222

142 291 341 302 533 535

533 535 Head, eyes, arms, fingers, knees, and even toes all have their part, and the precision of the gestures is extraordinary. The talent may be said to be born in every Tongan, for you may see little mites of eight years old shyly take their places at the end of the row and acquit themselves without a slip. The *Otuhaka* opens with a long and threatening solo on the drum, consisting of the same bar insistently repeated. After thirty bars or so the gesture dance begins in silence to the same monotonous accompaniment, until at last, when you have almost given up hope of anything more, the leader bursts into song, the rhythm of the drum never varying until it quickens up towards the end. All the performers sing; the leader takes the melody, and the chorus the second part, for the *Otuhaka*, which are generally of the same form, are always in two parts, and usually in rough canon. Here, too, there is an interminable repetition of the same theme until the leader gives the signal for a change by striking a higher note, and then the gestures change, the time quickens, and the chorus breaks into the *tali*, or coda, ending with a long-drawn note and a sudden dropping of the voice down the scale, like an organ when the bellows give out. The time is generally common or two-four, but in one of the examples given below the time is three-eight.

In reading these examples it is to be remembered that the leader loads his melody with turns and grace notes which are never quite the same, and which are impossible to write down, and further, that the final note always ends with the peculiar groan which I have described.

public, being rather in the nature of sonnets to my lady's eyebrow. 533

Like the *Otuhaka*, the *Lakalaka* is in two parts, though the voices may divide into four parts in the final chord. They are contrapuntal in form as well as 533 harmonic, and they are accompanied with the same 535 kind of gesture dance as the *Otuhaka*. The singers may either sit or stand in one or two rows; if they stand, the men go through a sort of dance, while the women move their heads and arms without changing their position. The difference between the two forms 533 lies in the scale, for the *Lakalaka* makes use of our scale both major and minor, with the exception of the leading note, which is generally omitted; the melody is more sustained, and, no drum being used in accompaniment, the rhythm is less marked.

The European music which have been the foundation 533 of the *Lakalaka* are Wesleyan hymns, military band 177 marches, and Mozart's Twelfth Mass, which is very well done by the students of the Wesleyan College. Most of the educated natives can read very well in the *tonic sol-fa* notation, and they have now begun to compose a kind of choral anthem for themselves, which is very much like the *Lakalaka* without the gestures. They show a great aptitude for keeping their parts, even in complicated counterpoint. That they have a strong natural turn for music is certain; it is the exception to find a native without a voice and a correct ear, and if they lack originality themselves, they have at least a very quick appreciation. I have described elsewhere* how the Grand March from Tännhauser took them by storm when it was first performed, albeit imperfectly, by the king's band.

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* *The Diversions of a Prime Minister.*

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Dancing is one of the oldest, most well-loved arts in Tonga. Above: A young lady in typical
dance costume at 'Oholei Beach does the popular *tau'olunga* dance, obeying the cardinal rule of
Tongan dancers—to smile. At right: Pretty dancers in gay attire rest before starting the [539]
me'ulu'ulu, which is a combination sit-down dance and action song. Beginning at a very young
age, Tongan children learn the skillful dances—girls, the graceful arm and hand movements, and [868]
boys, the rhythmic, more vigorous counterpart.

Ko e me'a manakoa 'i Tonga 'a e faiva. Ta 'i 'olunga: Ko e tau'olunga eni 'a ha ki'i finemui 'i he matatahi ko 'Oholei. Ta 'i to'omata'u: Ko e kau finemui eni 'oku nau teuteu ke fai 'enau me'ulu'ulu.

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

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KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

602 *Grandparents and Grandchildren*

603 No *tapu* is observed between the grandparents and grandchildren.
784 The latter may tôuch the head of the former and eat the balance of their
[264] food. An old man who lives with his daughter's family does not dictate
to his grandchildren at all, because it is their father's concern.

Brothers and Sisters

593 Brother and sister: The relationship between them is still an outstanding
784 feature of Tongan kinship. A number of *tapu* were referred
602 by the villagers. Brother and sister should respect (*faka-apaapa*) each
[291] other. They cannot see each other naked. At ten years of age, they
[513] have to sleep separately. A brother may enter the same room as the
[516] sister, but may not talk to her without sitting down. The sister may not
[521] come into the brother's room or hut except on a special occasion such as a
[764] funeral. They may not use each other's comb, bed, clothes or suitcase.
[264] They may take a meal together, must sit separately as far as possible, and
must not use tableware in common, but if it is washed it may be used.
[516] When the brother is beside the sister he may not eat while standing. They
[195] may not lie down where they are together. When addressed, the other must
[521] reply with *koau* politely. They may talk with each other except on such
topics as a quarrel or love. When the sister is talking with someone, the
brother should keep away from her lest he should overhear the conversation
[589] about an obscene matter. Each may not attend the wedding and
[764] funeral of the other. They may not dance together. The brother may
[535] not join a circle of *kava* drinking in which his sister is asked to make *kava*.
[276] The sister may cook and wash for him, but not his underwear. When
[574] one is ill and there is no one else to care for the patient, the other may
[758] nurse, but must stay as aloof as possible from the patient. At parting,
one may shake hands or kiss the cheek of the other.

[264] Elder brother and younger brother: It is *tapu* for the younger brother
to eat the food the elder brother leaves over and to wear his clothes.

Elder sister and younger sister: *Tapu* of the same nature as between
the brothers are also found in the relationship between the elder and the
[846] younger sisters. When one is delivered of a baby, the other may take
care of her.

604 *Uncle, Aunt, Nephew and Niece*

602 Towards the parallel uncle and aunt who are denoted *tamai* and *fa'e*,
[601] the attitude is just the same as towards one's own father and mother. On
the other hand, an uncle (or aunt) loves his parallel nephew and niece
as well as his own children.

Paternal aunt (mehikitanga) and nephew and niece (fakafotu)

602
604 *Fakafotu* have to show much more respect to *mehikitanga* than to
784 the father. The maximum of *tapu* is still found in their relation. They
[276] may not smoke while she is near. On her funeral they may not stay in a
[764] room where the corpse is laid. *Fakafotu* may *kole* (ask) something, but
[601] will be called robbers if they take it away without her permission.

noseflute was a trait common to the proto-Oceanic people. The panpipe, 534
on the other hand, was one of the least widely distributed of Polynesian 171
traits. The only satisfactory pre-European evidence is from Tonga. Hiroa 175
appeals to Wilkes (1844) and Stair (1897) for Samoan evidence, but 534
their writings are too late to prove pre-European distribution.[1] I agree 171 114
with Hiroa that this limited Polynesian distribution indicates late pre- 175
European introduction from Fiji, but for different reasons. It would
appear that panpipes are part of the Melanesian culture complex that
came into the Melanesian area in post-Lapita contexts and extended
as a complex as far as Fiji. For centuries before the coming of the 177
Europeans there was considerable contact between Fiji and Tonga in
trade, warfare, and intermarriage. Diffusion of material culture was
inevitable.

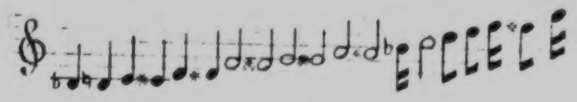
A number of parallels in material culture, including panpipes and 175 534
bamboo stamping tubes, are shared between Tonga and Melanesia,[2] 535
which suggests late introduction from Fiji. Bamboo stamping tubes 177
(tuki kofe) accompanied Tongan dances of the type called *me'elaufola.* [171]
At the time of European contact the *me'elaufola* was a living dance [533]
type, with the poetry sung in everyday language (rather than the older [192]
poetic Tongan used in the texts for other dance types), and could
easily incorporate new musical instruments and ideas. The use of bam-
boo stamping tubes in Tonga is described mainly in the journals of
Cook and Labillardière -- Tongans today are not familiar with the
instruments except as used in the Fijian *meke.* The demise of bamboo
stamping tubes soon after European contact suggests that they were not
fundamental to Tongan music and may have been introduced relatively
recently in prehistoric times from Fiji. The panpipe *(mimiha)*, likewise, 534
seems to have had no fundamental musical purpose or meaning in 175
Tongan music, but rather appears to have been simply a pleasurable
pastime object. I suggest that it, too, was introduced from Fiji relatively [177]
late in the prehistoric sequence, that it enjoyed a temporary flowering,
then changed, and eventually disappeared after European contact.

In his 1941 article, Hiroa attributed two Tongan panpipes to Cook's 534
voyages. One of these, in the Cook collection in Berne, Switzerland, 113
was collected by Webber, artist on Cook's third voyage (although it is
not listed in Henking 1957, and cannot be located). The other, in the
British Museum, is noted "Cook coll.", although this attribution was

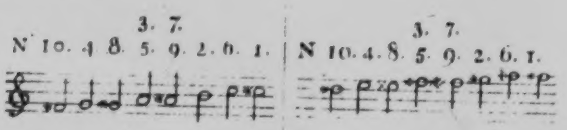
repeats these relationships at a slightly different pitch.[17] This would be 534 quite in line with a Tongan aesthetic principle which values "repetition 533 in a slightly different way" in order to challenge a listener's power of [517] instantaneous transformation and thus experience the parallel (Kaeppler 1971 a). This principle is found repeatedly in Tongan poetry and [538] dance movements, but is not found in melodic line except when the [535] same melodic contour is played successively on noseflutes with slightly different tonal relationships. The "decorative"[18] high and low notes [517] found in the lst and 10th pipes, as well as the near repetition in the intervalic structure, would appear to express another aesthetic concept found in vocal music, that is, decoration of the basic melodic contour. In traditional Tongan vocal polyphony there was a *fasi* (melody), *laulalo* (drone), and up to four decorative, i.e., nonessential parts (Kaeppler 1972: 2—3). Although the melodic line itself was simple and repetitive, the complete musical product could be rendered complex and interesting by additional parts. The panpipe, although it had only three main pitch relationships, could be made more complex and interesting by a repetition of these pitch relationships at a slightly different pitch level, which, I submit, is a form of "repetition in a slightly different way", as well as a "decoration" of the basic melodic contour. The arrangement of the pipes would produce, in effect, a successive, rather than simultaneous, "polyphony".

Steele concluded that the pipes produced a series "sufficient for an infinite number of airs" (1775: 70) which he represented as follows:

Furneaux panpipe, p. 70:



Banks panpipe, p. 78:



Fifths above the supposed fundamentals, produced by a gentle blast.

Tierces, or tenths, above the supposed fundamentals, produced by a stronger blast.

52: Kaeppler E-4,5 (1964-1967) 1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 It is hoped that this discussion will encourage dialogue on the potential usefulness of objects now found mainly in the storerooms of museums and all but unknown in their countries of origin.

NOTES

101 * Research in the Tongan Islands was carried out for one and a half years in
122 1964—1967 supported by Public Health Service Fellowship No. 5-Fl-MH-25,
984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wenner-Gren
Foundation for Anthropological Research.
Research on ethnographic collections and documents in museums and libraries
was carried out in 1969—1972, supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren
Foundation for Anthropological Research, the American Philosophical Society,
and the National Endowment for the Arts. To these institutions I wish to
122 express my appreciation. I also wish to thank Barbara B. Smith, Dieter Christensen, Mervyn McLean, and Richard Moyle for helpful comments on the manuscript and to acknowledge permission to publish the following photographs British Museum, figs. 1 and 2: Royal Scottish Museum, fig. 5: Pitt Rivers Museum, fig. 6; Institut für Völkerkunde, Göttingen, fig. 7; Museo Nazionale de Antropologia e Etnologia, Florence, fig. 8: Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm, fig. 9; Bernisches Historisches Museum, fig. 10; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, figs. 12 and 16: London School of Economics, fig. 13; Peabody Museum, Salem, figs. 14 and 15: and Bishop Museum, figs. 3, 4, 11 and 17.

534 1. The earliest panpipes from Samoa that I have been able to locate were
171 accessioned by the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, in 1886. These two
114 panpipes have five and seven pipes in graduated series, are beveled on one
side only, and are provenanced to Tutuila.

534 2. Bamboo stamping tubes have also been reported for Uvea and Futuna, but it
535 is likely that they were used in conjunction with musical types that diffused
171 from Fiji or Tonga. In view of this, stamping tubes in Hawaii are clearly a
177 problem, but it could well be that they are post-European.

534 3. It would be illuminating to know who on the second voyage gave the pan-
113 pipe to Banks. According to Rienits and Rienits (who used an illustration of this panpipe, 1968: 118), it "was given to Cook as a present and taken home by him". However, there is no evidence for this supposition — they were probably simply misled by the "Cook coll." label.

4. The attributions in the early manuscript catalogue in Berlin are not always reliable, however, and lacking independent documentation, these panpipes cannot be definitely ascribed to Forster (see Kaeppler 1974). The panpipes cannot be located and may have been destroyed during the war.

TUESDAY *20th.* Fenough havi[ng] expressed a desire to see the Marines go through their exercize and being willing to gratify him, I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the Morning of the 20th After they had gone through their exercize and fired several Volleys, the Cheif entertained us again in his turn with a sight intirely new. It was a kind of dance, performed by men and youths of the first rank; but so much unlike any thing I know of in any other part of the World, that no discription I can give will convey even a tolerable Idea of it. Any number may perform it, there were in this one hundred and five, each having in his hand an Instrument shaped something like a paddle of 2½ feet in length, with a small handle and thin blade so that they were very light and the most of them neatly made. With these Instruments, they made many and various flourishes each of which was attended with a different attitude of the body and some different movement or a nother. They at first ranged themselves in three lines, and by different movements and motions each man changed his station in such a manner that those who were in the rear came in front. Nor did they remain long in the same form, but these changes were made by pretty quick movements; they at one time extended themselves in one line then formed into a semicircle and lastly into two square Columns, while this last was performing, one of them came and danced a harlequin dance before me with which the whole ended. The musick was two drums or rather two hollow logs of wood on each of which they beat with two sticks. It did not appear to me that the dance was much assisted or directed by this Musick, but by a Song in which every one joined as with one voice; it was musical and harmonious and all their motions were performed with such justness that the whole party moved and acted as one man.[1] It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance whould have met with universal applause on a European Theatre, and so far exceeded any thing we had done to amuse them that they seemed to pique themselves in the superiority they had over us. Not one of our musical instruments, except the drum did they hold in the least esteem, and even the Drum they did not think superiour to their own; as to the French horns they very seldom would attend to them attall either here or at any of the other islands.[2]

648 [634] 648 541 535 [293] [534] [533] 534 829

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[1] This paddle-dance, *meë oo buggi*, says Mariner, II, p. 215 and n, 'is a Nuha [i.e. Niuatoputapu] dance, but the songs accompanying it are Hamoa [Samoa].'—*Me'e tu'upaki*: *me'e*, a dance; *tu'u*, persistently, or 'to keep going'; *paki*, a paddle.

[2] It was probably during the proceedings of this morning of 20 May that Cook's fate was in the balance, as told in Mariner's story (II, pp. 71–2), quoted above, pp. ciii–civ. Presumably Finau and the other chiefs had already their night dance in preparation, and the argument was over whether to do the deed of assassination during the morning or the following evening.

[634] [648]

[1777]

648 177 In order to give them a better opinion of English amusements, I ordered a set of Fire works to be got ready and after it was dark played them off before the Chief and a great concourse of people;[1] some of the works were spoiled, but there were enough good to answer the end I intended, particular some sky and Water Rockets which astonished and pleased them beyond measure and intirely turned the scale in our favour.

648 541 533 535 [534] By such time as the fire works were over Fenough had got ready a nother entertainment, this consisted of musick, singing and dancing.[2] A number of men seated themselves in a circle before us and began a Song not one word of which we understood; the musick was in the middle of the circle and consisted simply of two large pieces of bamboo with which they struck the ground endways and produced a dead hollow sound, each was managed by one man, who held it nearly in a Virtical position, the upper end was open but the other was closed by one of the joints. In a short time a number of Women, dressed better than Common, came and encircled the men in a kind of dance and joined in the Song; thus they continued for a full half hour, when two elderly women (one on each side, and who seemed to have the management of the whole) brough[t] the others up, dancing, two by two and ranged them before the chief, which ended the dance and the assembly broke up. Both men and Women accompaned the Song with a variety of motions of the hands and snaping of the fingers, which seems to be an essential part of their singing; their voices are however extreemly musical and their actions gracefull and decent, if we except some few which in a English assemb[l]y would be thought otherwise. But these indecent actions few as they are, do not arrise from any wanton ideas, but merely to increase the variety, for it is as[t]onishing to see the number of actions they observe in their dances and songs.[3]

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[1] 'I know of no judgement that is more liable to err, than in giving the numbers in a croud; the most moderate computers suppos'd 2000 collect'd whilst others guest 3 times that number; I am inclin'd to the first estimation, as the open space space they stood in, could not hold 6000.'—King, 20 May.

[2] 'In return for Capt^{n} Cook kindness they Entertained us with a Grand Heeva, or dance, which Surpassed any thing in order & regurallity that can be conceived of Indians.'—Martin, 20 May. These dances by night are very much better described, and at length, by Anderson—and perhaps Cook was relying on him to give the details. See pp. 875–8 below. Mariner, in discriminating between the different sorts of Tongan dance, and after remarking that 'it would be difficult to give a more faithful account than has already been given in Cook's Voyages', notes that 'The night-dance which Captain Cook saw (the *mä low folla*) is perhaps the only one which can be considered of Tonga invention, and is the only one accompanied throughout with Tonga songs:' the others coming from Samoa and 'Nuha'.—Mariner, II, pp. 213, 215. The *me'e-laufola* was not specifically a night-dance.

[177] [3] 'in the evening Capt^{n} Cook ordered some fire works on shore which were play'd off at dark, to y^{e} great entertainment and astonishment of the natives, they, ever grateful for the civilities & Compliments shew'd them, endeavour'd to amuse us for the remainder of the

WEDNESDAY 21st. The next morning I took a walk into the island, 241
which I found to be finely laid out into Plantations that were ex-
treemly well Cultivated and planted with such roots and fruits as [177]
are common to the island, and I made some addition by sowing the
seeds of Indian Corn, Millons Pumpkins &c^{a}. All the Plantations [417]
were finced round and publick roads lay between them. When I went
on board to dinner I found a large sailing Canoe fast to the Ships [491]
stern; in this Canoe was *Latouliboula* who, we understood, was King
of Tongatabu when I visited the island last Voyage.[1] He sat in the 648
Canoe with all that gravity by which he was distinguished at that
time, nor could I by any means prevail upon [him] to come into the 644
Ship. The people called him *Arekee* which signifies King,[2] a title I had [554]
never heard one of them give Feenough which made me suspect he
was not the King. Latouliboula remained under the stern till the [634]
evening when he retired to one of the isles. Feenough was on board
at the same time but neither took any notice of the other.

THURSDAY 22nd. Nothing material happened the next day, except- 648
ing some of the Indians stealing a Tarpauling and some other things
from of the deck, they were soon missed and the thieves pursued, but 685
a little too late, I applied to Feenough to have the things returned, 634
he refered me to Earoupa and he put me of from time to time and at
last nothing was done.[3] In the morning of the 23rd as we were going to 23rd

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evening with a dance, by some of their dancing Women, who are early trained to it, for the
entertainment of the great.—The principal Women who have at all times an Air of conse- [648]
quence & dignity in whatever they do, never perform among them; the dancers were upon
this occasion particularly well dress'd after their manner, which consists of a large piece of [541]
their cloth of a brown colour, first doubled, & then with great exactness folded on the [533]
upper part into about thirty plaits, & tied with a kind of ribband made of the leaves of the
plantin tree, dyed of different colours, round their waist, their hair is adorned wth a [535]
variety of flowers, & the upper part of the body rub'd over with a perfumed Oil: from the [177]
stiffness of the cloth, its being plaited, & the manner it is put on, they look like persons
just springing out of a cask; in these dances the Women have a variety of figures, all [292]
which they perform well, but with great labour to themselves: the custom of going with
the upper part of their bodies naked is thought no way indecent, as the frequent view of [301]
the persons so expos'd rather checks than incites every loose appetite, to us the appearance
of those women who had bore many children was rather disgusting; but our ideas of [302]
disgust were soon changed into that of admiration when We beheld the most beautiful
forms that imagination can conceive in the younger part of the Sex.'—Williamson.

[1] Latunipulu, the male *Tamaha*, the man of 'sullen and stupid gravity' whom Cook met in October 1773 at Tongatapu.—II, pp. 256–8:—'a chief whose odd and wild manners attracted our attention', says King. He would not trust himself in the ship, but 'he was very eager for our curiosities, & if trust'd into his hands woud not return them, his attendants however settled the prices.'—King, 22 May.

[2] '*Eiki*, a chief, a lord; or head of a family. The Maori *ariki* (a first-born in a family of note) may have been in Cook's mind. Other journals render the word as 'agee' or 'egee'.

[3] Both sides suffered. 'Punish'd Chris^{r} Kervin with 12 lashes for losing his ramrod (which I believe the Indians stole) during the Time he was Centinel, purposely to prevent their committing any thefts.' Next day Thomas Stretcher got 6 'for suffering the Indians to steal his Boathook'.—Clerke, 21, 22 May. Next day again 'Punished one of the Indian chiefs with 15 Lashes for Theft. Had we made an Example of every one of these people that deserved it, Punishments wou^{d} have been Endless, for their Skill in Pilfering is almost past

The 17th was the day fixed upon for Mariwaggy to give a grand Tues. 17
Haiva or entertainment to which we were all invited. The 541
dancing and Singing began about 11 o'clock and continued till three 648
or four, there were two sets of above a hundred men and youths in
each, of the first rank in the island. On each side of the Area where 533
this was performed was a pile or heap of Sticks and yams, decorated 535
with different sorts of small fish, these were Marriwaggies present to
Captain Clerke and me. The yams were brought in in the Morning, 648
two at a time, one at each end of a stick or pole about six feet long, 431
these with the yams were piled up so as to appear to the most advantage and made about three fourths of the whole so that it was ha[r]d [482]
to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams to eat were of the most
Value to us. As to the fish it might serve to please the sight but was
very offensive to the Smell, as some of it had been kept two or three
days for this occasion.

The Evening was ushered in with singing and dancing the Circu- 648
lar dance in which both men and women performed. Feenough on 533
this occasion appeared compleatly dressed in English Cloth, with not
less than ten or a dozen strings of beads about his neck and was a 535
principal actor in this entertainment: even Mariwaggy himself at one [634
time beat on the drum. These drums were such as I have before men- 292
tioned that is hollowed logs of Wood and Bamboos of different 30F
lengths. The Musicians to the dance are in front and
round them are seated in a long oval form a number of men who 643
keep singing and claping their hands during the whole of the per- 534]
formance, the same is done in the circular dances, with this differ-
ence that they sit in a circle and round them the dancers form a 535
nother, but this is done so insencibly that it is some time before it is [533]
compleat and very often not till the end of the dance. These dances
vary perhaps much more than we were able to discover, however
there appeared a sort of sameness throughout the whole, and so would,
I apprehend the most of our Country dances to people as unacquainted with them as we were with theirs. The drawings which Mr
Webber has made of these performances will give a very good idea of
the order in which they range themselves but neither pen nor pencil
can discribe the numerous actions and motions they observe, which
as I have before observed are easy and gracefull and many of them
extreemly so. The whole of this entertainment was conducted with 541
far better order than could be expected in so large assembly, for at
this time there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in 571
our neighbourhood, that is within the Compass of a quarter of a mile.
Amongst such a Multitude there must be a number of ill disposed [685]

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431 have imployed them as many days as it did these people hours: but
seamen like most other amphibious animals are always the most help-
648 less on land. But to proceed, after they had compleated these two
643 piles, they made several other heaps of yams & bread fruit on each
side the Area, to which were added a Turtle and a large quantity of
[417] excellent fish. All this was the Kings present to me and rather ex-
ceeded that which I had from Feenough at Happi. In the afternoon
648 we had two or three of the [1] dances, after them a man
535 with a Club in his hand danced a harlequin dance with prodigious
agility. The evening as usual, was spent in dancing and singing in
which the King joined dressed in English manufactury. In order to
643 be present the whole time, I dined a shore, the King sat down with
644 us, but neither eat nor drank. This was on account of a Woman which
he desired might dine with us, who, as we afterwards understood, was
264 of superior rank to himself; as soon as she had dined she steped up
576 to the King who put his hands to her feet and then she retired. He
immidiately diped his fingers into a glass of wine and then received
the obeisance of all her followers. This was the only time and only
648 person we ever saw him reverence.[2] At the Kings desire I ordered
some fire works to be played off, they afforded little entertainment,
177 being some of those on board the Discovery and intirely spoiled. As
no more entertainments were to be expected on either side and the
Sun. 22 Curiosity of the populace pretty well satisfied, the next day the most
685 of them left us. We still however had thieves about us, incouraged by
the negligence of our own people, they were continualy commiting
648 some theft or a nother.

Some of the officers belonging to both Ships who had traveled into
648 the island unknown to me or indeed any body else and had been
685 absent two days returned this evening. They took with them their
Muskets with the necessary ammunition and several small articles
643 all of which the Natives found means to get from them in the Course
634 of their expedition. This affair was like to be attended with some il-
conveniency, for on their return they got Omai to complain to the

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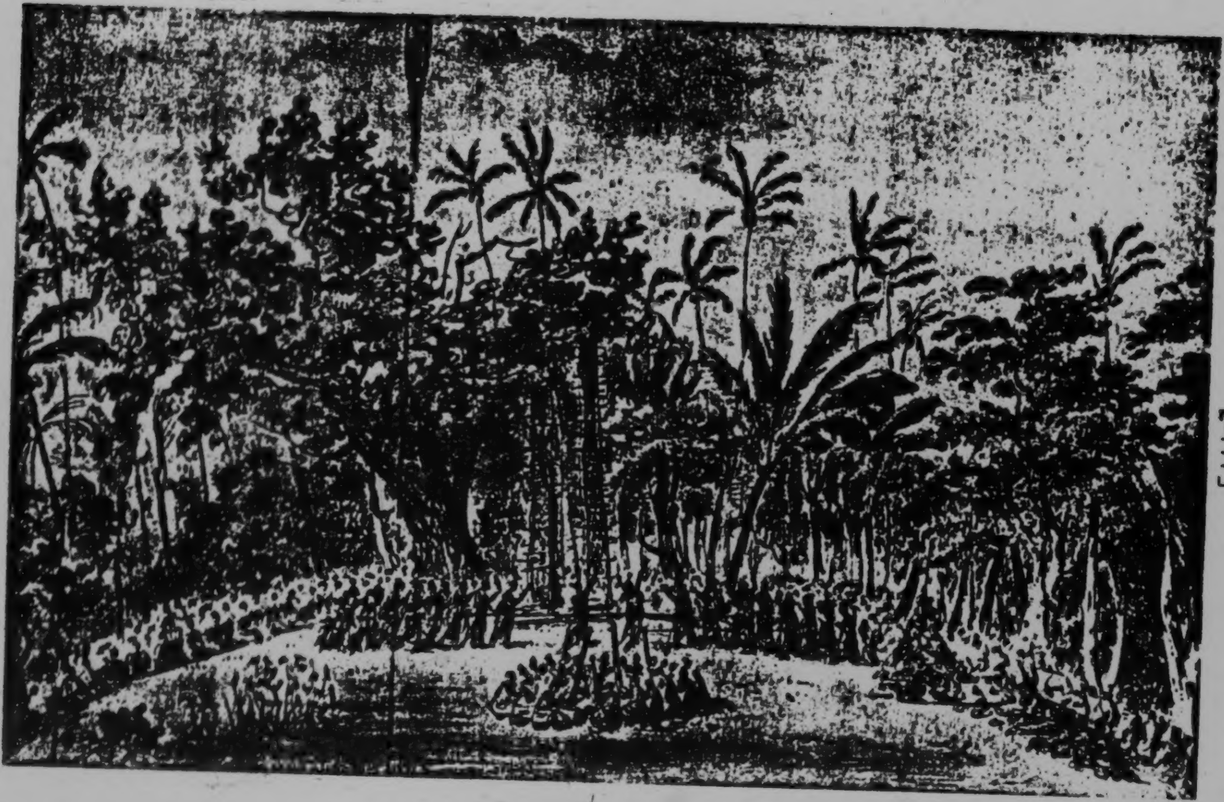
[1] Cook has left a space here, evidently to supply with the name (presumably native) of the dance. We learn from Anderson that the first of three dances this afternoon was the paddle dance, *me'e-tu'upaki*, already seen, followed by one by women and another by two men, which was a *kailao* or dance with war-clubs.

[2] This woman, the female *Tamaha*, or 'sacred child', was the most sacred being in all Tonga. She was the eldest child of the marriage between the *Tu'i Tonga fefine*, the female Tu'i Tonga, herself extremely sacred, and one of the chiefs Tu'i Lakepa or Tu'i Ha'a Teiho, of the 'Fijian house' or *fale Fisi*. As Cook noticed, the sacred Tu'i Tonga paid the same ceremony of obeisance to her as all others did to him. Her position was such that she could have no recognized descendants. The name of this particular exalted personage was Moungalakepa; she was the daughter of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala III and Tu'i Lakepa Fehokomoelangi of Nukulau, Fiji. Latunipulu was her brother.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

[1777]

[Facing p. 144-B]



585

PL. 17. A Tongan dance

Drawing by Webber.—National Maritime Museum

[1777]

291 the dress of both men and Women is the same, and consists of one
piece about two yards wide and two and a half long, or so long as to
go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confind by a girdle
or cord; it is double before and hangs down like a petticoat as low as
the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle
is plaited into several large folds, so that there is cloth sufficient when
[565] unfolded to come over the head but this is very seldom done. This as
to form is the general dress, but large pieces of Cloth and fine Mat-
ting are only wore by the superior people, the inferior sort put up
with small pieces and very often wear nothing but a petticoat made
of the leaves of plants, or the Maro,[1] which is a narrow piece of cloth
or matting like a Sash, this they bring between the legs and wrap
292 round the waist; but this last is chiefly confined to the men. In their
great *Haivas*, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made
[535] for the purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest
dresses are those covered more or less with red feathers. When, or on
what occation the Chiefs wear those large red feather bonnets I
could never learn,[2] both men and women sometimes shade their faces
from the Sun with little bonnits, made either of matting or other
301 materials. They also wear Neclaces some of which are composed of
many little neat trinkets made of bone, mother of pearl and tortise
shell.[3]

342 *Houses* The Houses of these people are of various sizes and like those
of Otahiete consists chiefly of a thatched roof supported by
[352] pillars and rafters desposed in a very judicious manner and the work-
[264] man ship in many extremely neat, the floor is raised with earth
smoothed and covered with strong thick Matting and kept very clean;
they seldom eat in them, unless it rains. The most of them are inclosed
on the weather Side and some more than two thirds round, with strong
Mats or the branches of the Cocoanut tree plated or woven one into a
nother; these they fix up edgeways and reach from the eaves to the
352 ground and answers the purpose of a wall. A thick strong Mat about
519 2½ or 3 feet broad, bent into the form of a simicircle and set up upon
its edge with the ends against the wall, like unto the the fender of a
fire hearth, incloses a place for the Master and Mistress of the family
to sleep in, the lady indeed spends most of her time in it,[4] the rest of

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[1] Tongan *malo*.

[714] [2] This head-dress, the *fau* or *fafau*, was worn during times of festival or high ceremony, or at the outset of a war expedition.

[3] '. . . both Sexes wear Necklaces made of Shells, bones, & berries, & sweet smelling flowers, & have two holes (generally in one ear only,) thro which they thrust a round piece of Tortoise Shell about 3 Inches long or reed or bone. The Women have rings on their fingers make of Tortoise Shell.'—King.

[562] [609] [4] Cf. King: 'The roads about this place [the neighbourhood of the Observatory] are

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

648 inflicted I believe will scarcely be found consonant with the principles of justice or humanity upon the strictest scrutiny.

114 [132] [439] SATURDAY MAY 10th. The wind from E to NNE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather and a considerable swell so that no Indians came off today, but they continued to trade on shore and amongst other things we bought a hawks bill turtle of about 30 Lb weight.

[132] SUNDAY 11th. The wind SSE. Fresh gales with cloudy weather before noon and some rain, thunder and lightning in the morning but afterwards clearer and more moderate. No Canoes came off the weather was so bad. In the forenoon we got off the horses and in the evening the other things with the party of Marines, three of whom were punish'd on shore for negligence. On heaving in the best Bower the service was found broke and the Cable a little damag'd.

[132] [439] MONDAY 12th. The wind SSE. Fresh breezes with pretty clear weather. We should have left the Island but waited for the Discovery who has attempted to recover her anchor yesterday and today, but in vain as it got hold of a rock and the weather has been bad. Few Indians came off as they seem to have exhausted the greatest part of their stock for trade.

[132] [533] [535] TUESDAY 13th. The wind from SE to E. Moderate breezes in the forenoon and afterwards almost calm. The weather fine. The Discovery after a good deal of trouble recover'd her anchor. Few of the natives came off but at night we could hear them engagd in singing and dancing on shore as if a great number had been collected together.

[132] 648 131 133 WEDNESDAY 14th. The wind SSE and S. Gentle breezes with very fine weather. Between seven and eight in the morning we weigh'd and left Anamocka or as the natives pronounce it Anna'mooka. This island (as well as Amsterdam & several of the adjacent ones) was discover'd by Abel Tasman in 1643, who considering the time he staid has given a tolerable account of it. Its situation is in 20.14 S Latitude, 185.30 E Longitude, and is about four leagues or more in circuit being nearly of a   figure. It is somewhat higher than the other small isles that surround it but may nevertheless be rank'd amongst the low islands.[a] The shore at that part where we lay

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[a] As the different heights of land may easily be misunderstood from the deficiency of terms we use in expressing their various degrees I shall endeavour to explain what I mean by low & other lands. By low land I mean that which is about the height of the English coast about Essex, or what is a general criterion, that on which the trees where there are any appear above water as you approach it before the body of the land is so apparent as to determine its extent. When I say land is of a moderate height I mean that it is as high as the English coast about the Downs of Kent & Sussex, or indeed of the whole southern coast as far as Plymouth. I know no part of the English coast to the E or S°ward to which I

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Most of the
609 people had left their habitations to go where the ships lay, and our
421 guide, to show perhaps that he deriv'd his authority from a person superior to any of them, often went into their huts, examind what was
565 in them & made no scruple to take what he wanted or throw the things down without. He also often stopt people that were carrying things to barter & took dress'd yams or cocoa nuts to eat, nay at one time took some fish from a poor old woman who was going to dress them and was probably her subsistence for the day, but after carrying them a little way he gave them to a person that was following us.

133 The island is not above seven miles long and in some places not more than two or three broad. The east side, which is expos'd to the trade wind, has a reef running to a considerable breadth from it on which the sea breaks with great violence. It is a continuation of this reef that joins it to Foa, which is not above half a mile from it, and is partly dry at low water so that the natives can walk from one island to the other. The shore itself is either a coral rock six or seven feet high or a sandy beach, but higher than the west side, which in general is not more than three or four feet above the level of the sea. This side forms a bending or sort of bay with a fine sandy beach its whole length, defended by several shoals without, but as the entrance in is difficult from shoals perhaps the spot where the ships lay is more
609 convenient. We found very few people in this excursion as most of them were at the Ships.

132 TUESDAY 20th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. In the forenoon the Captain to gratify the curiosity of the inhabitants
609 orderd a party of marines on shore with some from the Discovery to
[177] show them the method of using our fire arms. They seem'd well pleas'd with the firing and various motions which were made, though
[535] our soldiers were by no means examples of the best discipline. In their
[714] turn they exhibited a dance and excersizd their clubs, in which it was acknowledg'd by all they far outdid our people in exactness and dexterity.

177 In the evening we entertaind them with fire works, which luckily happen'd to be in excellent order, at which they express'd much satisfaction and a good deal of astonishment; especially at some water rockets which were admirable and gave us who had never seen any as much pleasure as the Indians could possibly receive. They compar'd the sparkles which fell from the sky rockets to falling stars, and were surpriz'd at the height of the smoke that remaind after they were spent for they suppos'd it absolutely remaind and became a cloud.

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When we had finish'd they treated us in their turn with several

dances, the prelude to which was a band of music or chorus of 18 609
men, who sat down in the centre of the place where the dances were 535
to be performd. Four or five of these had pieces of large Bamboo from 533
three to five or six feet long, with the close end of which the[y] kept
constantly beating the ground, though slowly, and they produc'd 534
sounds of different sorts according to their length, but all of the grave
or base cast, to counteract which a person kept striking a piece of the
same substance split and laid along the ground quickly with two
sticks, and by that means furnish'd a tone as acute as the first was
grave. The rest as well as those that beat with the Bamboos sung a 533
slow and soft air, which so temper'd the harsher music that a bye
stander who had been accustom'd to hear the most perfect and
various modulation of sounds could nevertheless not avoid confessing
the vast power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony, which
appear'd not to be produc'd from the variety but the sorts of tones
made use of.

After continuing for about a quarter of an hour twenty women [824]
enter'd the circle most of whom had garlands of the crimson flowers
of the China rose[1] or others about their head, and many had cut some [301]
other leaves they had about them as ornaments with a great deal of
nicety about the edges. They made a circle round the chorus turning 533
their faces towards it, and began by singing a soft air to which re- 535
sponses were made by the chorus in the same tone, which were
repeated alternately, during which time the woman accompanied
their song with several very gracefull motions of the hands towards the
face and in other directions, at the same time making constantly a
step forward and then back again with one foot while the other was
fix'd. They then turnd their faces to the assembly, sung some time,
and retreated slowly in a body to one part of the circle which was
opposite to where some of the principle people sat as spectators in a
small hut. One then advanc'd from each side, met and pass'd each
other at the front walking round till they came to the rest, on which
two advanc'd from each side two of whom pass'd each other and
return'd as the former, but the other two remaind & to these came
one from each side by intervals till they had again made a circle about
the chorus.

Their manner of dancing was now chang'd for a quicker sort in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping and clapp'd their hands, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus, but towards the end as the quickness of the music increas'd they perform'd a sort of motion which with us would be rather reckon'd

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[1] Hibiscus.

533 indecent, as they mov'd the lower part of the body on the trunk from
535 side to side for a considerable time with such vigour and dexterity as shows they have been well initiated in the practice of it, on which they finish'd the dance.

To these succeeded fifteen men some of whom were old, but their age seem'd to have abated little of their agility or ardour for the dance. They were dispos'd in a sort of circle divided at the front, with their faces not turnd out towards the assembly nor in to the chorus, but one half the circle fac'd forwards as they had advancd and the other half in a contrary direction. They sometimes sung slowly in conjunction with the chorus during which they made several very fine motions with their hands but different from those of the women, at the same time inclining the body to either side alternately by raising one leg which was stretch'd outwards and resting on the other, the arm of the same side being also stretch'd fully upwards. At other times they recited sentences in a musical tone which were answer'd by the chorus, and at intervals increas'd the measure of their dance by clapping the hands and quickening the motions of their feet which however were never varied. At the end the music & dancing quickend so much that it was scarcely possible to distinguish the different motions, though one might suppose they were almost tir'd as it had lasted near half an hour.

After a considerable interval twelve men came in, who plac'd themselves in double rows fronting each other but on opposite sides of the circle, and on one side a man who repeated several sentences as if he had been a prompter, to which they and the chorus replied. They then sung slowly and afterwards danc'd and sung more quickly almost after the manner of the former, for about a quarter of an hour.
535 Soon after they had finishd nine women came and sat down fronting the hut where the chief was. A man then rose and struck the first woman a blow on the back with both fists together in the manner our country people sometimes do to a sack of flower or corn to fit it to the persons back who is to carry it. He proceeded in the same manner to the second and third, but when he came to the fourth, I cannot tell whether from accident or design, but instead of the back he struck her on the breast, upon which a person rose instantly from the crowd, gave him a blow on the head which struck him to the ground and he was carried off without the least noise or disorder. But this did not save the other women from so odd a punishment, or perhaps necessary ceremony, for a person succeeded him who treated the rest in the same manner. Their misfortune did not end here for when they danc'd they had the mortification to find it was twice disapprov'd of and

were oblig'd to repeat it. The dance did not differ much from that of 535
the first women except in one circumstance, where they raisd the body upon one leg by a sort of double motion and so with the other alternately, during which they kept snapping the fingers and at the end they repeated the wriggling motion of the first with great briskness.

In a little time a person enter'd unexpectedly and said something 177
in a ludicrous way about the fire works that had been exhibited, which extorted a burst of laughter from the multitude, after which we had a dance compos'd of the men who attended or had follow'd Feenou. They form'd a double circle (i e one within the other) of 535
twenty four each round the chorus, and began with a gentle soothing 533
song with corresponding motions of the hands and head (which lasted for a considerable time) and then chang'd to a much quicker measure with which they repeated sentences either in conjunction with or in answer to some spoke by the chorus. They then retreated to the back part of the circle as the women had done, and advancd on each side in a triple row till they formd a semicircle, which was done very slowly by inclining the body on one leg & advancing the other a little way as they put it down. They accompanied this with such a soft air as at the beginning, but soon chang'd it to repeat sentences in a harsher tone, at the same time quickening the dance very much till they finish'd with a general shout and clap of the hands. The same was repeated several times, but at last they form'd a double circle as at the beginning, danc'd and repeated very quickly and finish'd with several very dexterous transpositions of the two circles.

The last dance consisted of the same number of the principle people who were present and began nearly as the last, but their ending at each interval was different, for they increasd their motions to a prodigious quickness, shaking the head from shoulder to shoulder with such force that a person unnacustom'd to it would suppose they ran a risque of dislocating their neck. This was attended with a smart clapping of the hands and a kind of savage hollo or shriek not unlike what is sometimes practic'd by our lower sort of country people in their dances. They form'd the triple semicircle as the former had done, and a person who advanc'd at the head on one side began by repeating something in a truely musical recitative, deliver'd with an air so gracefull that might put to the blush our most applauded performers. He was answerd in the same manner by the person at the head of the opposite side, which being repeated several times the whole in one side joind in the responses to those of the other as they advanc'd slowly to the front, and they finish'd by singing and dancing as they had begun.

535 These two last dances met with universal approbation from the
533 spirit and exactness with which they were perform'd. The spectators
517 who were no doubt perfect judges of the propriety of the several parts
could not withhold their applauses at some particular ones, which
indeed might be observ'd by a stranger who never saw the diversion
before: for though through the whole the most strict concert was
observ'd it might be said that some of the motions absolutely spoke
the Language that accompanied them, if we allow there is any connection
535 between motion and sounds. At the same time it should be
533 observ'd that though the musick in the chorus and that of the dancers
correspond, yet constant practice seems to have a great share in
effecting the exact time they keep; for if any of them are accidentally
interrupted they never find the smallest difficulty in entering upon
any part of the dance or song, and their perfect discipline is no where
better shown than in the sudden transitions they make from the ruder
motions and harsh music to the soft airs and gentle motions.

The place where the dances were perform'd was in an open space amongst the trees just by the sea, with lights at small intervals in the inside of the circle. The concourse of people was pretty large though not equal to what assembled in the forenoon when the marines excercisd, at which time some of our Gentlemen guess'd there might be about five thousand, others a great many more and some fewer.

132 WEDNESDAY 21st. The wind W in the morning in fresh breezes with
cloudy weather and some rain, but afterwards clear with gentle
breezes from the Soward but at night brisker. This change of weather
seem'd to be indicated by the great heat for two days past and the
[439] Lightning to the westward last night. Few of the natives on board and
little trade for provisions carried on.

132 THURSDAY 22d. The wind Southerly. Gentle breezes with fine
weather. A good many Indians on board but little trade for provisions.
439 We confind two Indians for stealing
648 one of whom had a large wound on his cheek made with a boat hook
by one of our people who was sent in pursuit of them.

132 FRIDAY 23d. The wind SSW in the morning and afterwards SE.
Moderate breezes with fine weather. A good many Indians on board
439 who brought some fruit and hogs, of the last of which we have such a
634 number that we are oblig'd to salt them, and Feenou set out for
648 Va'vaoo this morning to bring another supply, perhaps to prevent
our going to Amsterdam which he is still averse to. The two Indians
648 were reliev'd on bringing a hog as a ransom, but their boat was

blind with a disorder of his Eyes. It is probable he precedes the other 643
in rank as he certainly posses'd what we might call the seat of honour,
sitting under the tree and fronting us as we walk'd up, while the other [164]
sat aside, and indeed it appeard that he was rather disappointed by
our addressing Mareewagee first & paying most attention to him.

SATURDAY 14th. The wind Southerly. Gentle breezes with fine 132
weather. The people on shore employ'd as before & those on board
mostly in the hold. The natives brought a good deal of fruit and some 114
hogs off & a brisk trade is carried on at the tent. We had a visit from 439
Poulaho who now lives constantly at the house or Ma'lace by the
tent, I believe with an intention to superintend or see that no mischief 643
is done by his people. The Captain made him a present of some things
but neither of the other chiefs came off as they had promis'd yesterday. 648
He entertaind our people at night with a dance at the tent, and [535]
to the surprize of every body the unwieldy Poulaho endeavour'd to
vye with others in that active amusement.

A Canoe went to the Buoy where our boats lay and stole an iron 648
pin belonging to one of them, for which we confin'd one in irons who
was found in the Canoe though not the principal, but the iron being
return'd in the afternoon he was set at liberty.

SUNDAY 15th. The wind SE. Moderate breezes with fine weather. In 132
the forenoon some of us walk'd to the westward of the tent and found
the country totally uncultivated for near two miles, though quite 311
coverd with trees and bushes in a natural state growing with the
greatest vigour. Beyond this is a pretty large plain on which are some
Cocoa trees and a few small plantations that appear to have been
lately made, and seemingly on ground that has never been broke in
before, but it seems to preserve the same appearance still farther on.
We found that several of the principal people, as Maree'wagee, [342]
Too'bou, Fee'nou & some others had erected temporary huts to live [643]
in while they remaind here, near the path which leads through the [634]
uncultivated part immediately west of the tent. Near the creek which
runs to the eastward of the tent the land is quite flat and partly 133
overflown by the sea every tide. When that retires the surface is seen
to be compos'd of coral rock with holes of a yellowish mud scatterd [136]
up and down; and towards the edges where it is a little firmer are
innumerable little holes, from which issue as many small crabs of two
or three different sorts which cover the place as flies on a carcase, but
are so nimble that on ones approaching they disappear in an instant
and baffle even the natives to catch any of them.

At this place is an artificial work which shows these people have 349

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

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349 some design and perseverance when they mean to accomplish any thing. It begins on one side as a narrow Causeway, which becoming gradually broader rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad and the whole length 74 paces. Joind to this is a sort of Circus or centre, whose diameter is thirty paces and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway, that joins it with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side to the Causeway another of the same sort descends but is not more than forty paces long, and partly fallen down. The whole is built of large Coral stones with earth on its surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs and from its decaying in several places seems of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly it seems to be of none now, and all that we could learn of it from the natives was that it belongd to Poulaho and is call'd E'tchee.[1]

The Captain brought Mareewagee and Too'bou on board to
643 dinner and it was observ'd that these people, though of great rank,
648 paid the usual mark of submission by bowing the head & touching
644 the feet to a boy of twelve or fourteen[2] who is a son of Poulahos and is
576 intended to succeed his father as king of the isles.

132 MONDAY 16th. The wind SE? Fresh breezes with cloudy weather till
near the evening when it was more moderate and clearer. Our people
114 employ'd as before and as we were at work in the hold examind
some of the English bread which was found in very good condition.
439 The trade for provisions not so brisk as formerly.

132 TUESDAY 17th. The wind Easterly. Moderate breezes with fine weather.
In the morning when walking to the left of the tent we met several
643 hundreds of the natives each carrying a pole with a small yam at both
651 ends, and instead of these some had two or three bread fruit, which
482 they carried to a large space that had been clear'd away before
Mareewagees temporary hut, throwing them down and forming a
large heap which they call'd Ha'paee[3] on each side. Several also
brought a good many small fish stuck upon the points of the twigs of
some wither'd branches which they carried in their hands, and laid
535 down as an addition to the heaps. About eleven o clock they began
533 in the same clear space to exhibit various dances which they call
Mai,[4] the music consisting at first of seventy men as a Chorus, who sat
534 down and amongst them three instruments which we call'd Drums

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[1] An *esi* or 'rest mound'.

[2] The boy called Fatafehi Fuanunuiava.

[192] [3] *'api'api*, crowded, full. It has nothing to do with the name of the island group. A road crowded with men, or a basket full of many things, would be called 'Api-api', says Mariner. Cf. Clerke's confusion, p. 109, n. 1 above.

[4] *me'e*.

though they have no resemblance to them. They are large cylindrical 535
pieces of wood or trunks of a tree from three to four feet long, some 533
twice as thick as an ordinary siz'd man and some smaller, hollow'd 534
entirely out but close at both ends, and open only by a narrow chink
about 3 inches broad running almost its whole length, by which the 534
rest is certainly hollow'd though it must be a difficult task. It is
calld Naffa,[1] and with the chink turn'd towards them they sit and
beat strongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood about
a foot long and as thick as the wrist, with which they produce a rude
though loud & powerfull sound. They vary the strength and rate of
their beating at different parts of the dance, and also change the
tones by beating in the middle or near the end of the instrument. The 535
first dance consisted of four ranks of twenty four men each, who held
in their hands a little thin light wooden instrument above two feet 293
long and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle, which they call
Pagge.[2] With these they made a great many different motions, such as
pointing it towards the ground on one side, at the same time inclining
their bodys that way, from which it was shifted to the opposite side in
the same manner, then shifting it quickly from one hand to the other
and twirling it about very dexterously with a great variety of others,
all which were accompany'd by corrosponding attitudes of the body.
Their motions were at first slow but quicken'd as the drums beat 535
faster, and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time,
which were answer'd by the chorus but at the end of a short space 533
they all joind and finish'd with a shout. After ceasing two or three
minutes they began as before, and continued with short intervals
above a quarter of an hour, when the rear rank dividing shifted
themselves very slowly round each end and meeting in the front
form'd the first line, the whole still continuing to recite the sentences
as before. The other ranks did the same successively till that which at
first was the front became the rear, and they continued in the same
manner till the last regaind its first situation. They then began a
much quicker dance (though slow at first) and sung for about ten
minutes, when the whole divided into two parts, retreated a little and
then approach'd forming a sort of circular figure, which finish'd the
dance, the drums and music going off the field at the same time.

The second had only two drums with forty men for a chorus, and [634]
the dancers or rather actors consisted of two ranks, the foremost
having seventeen the other fifteen, with Feenou at their head or in the
middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in these cases.

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[1] *nafa.*

[2] *paki.*

535 They danc'd and recited sentences with some very short intervals for 533 about half an hour, sometimes quickly sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions had been made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the end the hind rank divided, came round and took the place of the front as in the first dance, which again resum'd its situation, and when they finish'd the Drums and Chorus again went off.

Three drums (which always took two, sometimes three men to [482] carry them) were brought in and seventy men sat down as a Chorus [534] to the third dance, which consisted of two ranks of sixteen each with [292] a chief nam'd Toobou (not the one mentiond before) at their head, [287] who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment cover'd with red feathers, an article much esteem'd here. These danc'd, sung and twirl'd the Pagge as before, but in general much quicker and so well 535 that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion chiefly approv'd was one in which they held their faces aside as if 293 asham'd & the Pagge before it. The hind rank clos'd before the first and that again resum'd its place as at the other dances, but they began again, form'd a triple row, divided, retreated to each end and left the greatest part of the ground clear, on which two men enter'd very hastily and excercis'd the clubs which they use in battle. They did this by first twirling the club in their hands and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so exactly together that though standing quite close they never interfer'd. They shifted them to the opposite hands with equal dexterity, and after continuing a little time kneeld & made different motions, tossing the club up in the air which they caught as it fell, and went off as hastily 535 as they entered. Their heads were cover'd with a piece of white cloth 292 tied at the crown almost like a night cap, with a wreath of foliage round the forehead, but they had only a very small piece of cloth made of thread almost like what our girls sow upon at school ty'd about the middle, seemingly that they might be cool & free from any 535 incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear dress'd like the former then came in, also in a hasty manner, & look'd about eagerly as if he wanted some body to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with it at one of them, bending the knee a little and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds when he came quickly over to the other side and put himself in the same posture at two of us who stood together, & standing about the same time retreated from the ground as fast as he had appear'd. The two partys of dancers, who had divided, kept

repeating something slowly all the time and now advanc'd and joind 535
again, ending with universal applause. It would seem they consider'd
this dance as one of their capital performances, if we might judge [634]
from some of the principal people being engag'd in it, for one of the [643]
drums was beat by Futta'faihe the brother of Poulaho, another by [533]
Feenou, and a third which did not belong to the chorus often by
Mareewagee at the entrance of his hut.

The last dance had forty men and two drums as a chorus. It 535
consisted of sixty men who had not danc'd before dispos'd in three 533
rows having 24 in front, but before this they had a pretty long
preleminary harangue in which the whole body answer'd a single [537]
person who spoke. They recited sentences (perhaps verses?) alternately with the chorus and made many motions with the Pagge in a very brisk mode, which were all applauded with Maree'ai and Fy'fogge, two different degrees of praise.[1] They divided into two bodys with their backs to each other, form'd again, shifted their ranks as in the others, divided and retreated, making room for two champions who excercis'd their clubs as before and after them two others, the dancers all the time reciting slowly in turn with the chorus, after which they advanc'd and finishd.

These dances, if they can properly be call'd so, lasted from eleven 535
to near three o clock, and though they were doubtless intended 541
particularly either in honour to us or to show a specimen of what they
consider their ne plus ultra in dexterity, there was a great number of their own people attended as spectators. Their numbers could not be computed exactly from the inequality of the ground, but by reckoning the inner circle and the number in depth, which was in many places between twenty and thirty, we suppos'd there must be near four thousand, while at the same time there was round the trading place at the tent and straggling about at least as many, so that we had about eight thousand people collected on this spot drawn together for the most part by mere curiosity.

It is with regret we cannot describe the language as well as manner 538
of these amusements, which would doubtless afford much informa-
tion as to the genius and customs of these people. I have however [123]
observ'd that though the spectators always approve of the various motions when well made, a great part of the pleasure they receive seems to arise from the sentimental part, or what they deliver in Language; for before they enter on the scene of action they always spend a considerable time just at one side where they may be seen in

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[1] *malie*, 'good, splendid!'—*fai foki*, something like 'Carry on, do!' *Fai* is to do; *foki*, an intensive. Mariner says 'Fyfoki. Encore! as exclaimed at public assemblies'. [192]

538 repeating sentences very softly but with little action, which is commonly
one of the most applauded parts. At the same time the mere
[533] acting part independent of that is well worth our notice, both with
respect to the extensive plan on which it is executed and the various
motions, as well as the exact unity with which they are perform'd;
though I did not observe that these were always regulated by the
drums, which sometimes beat very quickly while these were slow, but
the sentences they repeated or mode of their song constantly accorded
with the motions. It has still one greater merit, which is that in most
nations which we say are unciviliz'd these things are often instituted
with an intention to raise and nourish many of the most mischievous
passions, such as rage, an obstinate contempt of death, desire of
revenge and others tending to the disquietude and destruction of
mankind, wheras this to appearance inculcates the very reverse in
every respect. Each motion is made in the gentlest manner, and
without those violent efforts which argue an exertion of rage; every
word that is spoke, though not understood, might from the manner
of its delivery be suppos'd to convey a gentle love tale instead of
inspiring rancorous sentiments or brutal ferocity; and every face
instead of a sullen frown or distortions which raise terror wears an
aspect so placid and benevolent that it is impossible to associate the
idea of barbarity along with it.

● 535 At night we were entertain'd with the Bo'mai,[1] or night dances, on
a space before Feenous temporary habitation. They lasted for about
three hours, in which time we had about twelve different ones perform'd
much after the same manner as those at Hapaee, but in two
that were perform'd by women a number of men came and form'd
a circle within theirs, and in another consisting of twenty four men
there were a number of motions with the hands that we had not seen
[634] before which were highly applauded. The music was also once
[533] chang'd tonight and Feenou appeard at the head of fifty men who
[292] had danc'd at Ha'paee, in one well dress'd with linnen, a large piece
[301] of gauze and some pictures hung round his neck. But it was evident
after the diversion was ended what inconvenience we had put these
519 good people to, or rather themselves, for being drawn together on
this uninhabited spot numbers of them were oblig'd to lye down and
sleep under the bushes, by the side of a tree or canoe; and many
either lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or walk'd
about all the night.

132 WEDNESDAY 18th. The wind ESE. Moderate breezes with fine

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[1] *po me'a*, 'night of dancing'.

weather. The people employ'd in wooding, mending sails &c as usual 132
on shore, & those on board in getting up the empty water casks &c.

In return for the entertainment we receiv'd yesterday a party of 114
marines were order'd to go through their excercise on the spot where 648
the dances were perform'd last night. Poulaho with the other prin-
cipal people were present, and all the spectators were well pleas'd 177
with the several motions when properly done, but they easily dis- [643]
cern'd the aukwardness of some of their monuvres which afforded
them matter for much mirth. They could not however help expressing
their surprize at some platoons that were tolerably exact, and still
more at the distance they saw the bullets fly to upon the water, but
they seem'd to pay little attention to the fife and drum or french
horns that play'd in the intervals.

In the evening we exhibited some fire works on the same spot,
which was convenient from being close to the water side, and they
expressd a considerable degree of wonder at some of them, especially
the water rockets and two false fires, the first of which some of them
were apprehensive would come on shore when they saw them change
their place so frequently in the water, and very seriously ask'd the
question. We found that the diversions which were shown us yester- 648
day had been done entirely by the orders of Mareewagee and 535
Toobou, for the two piles of Yams that lay in the ground where they
had been perform'd were given to Cap^tn^ Cook as a present (with 643
some pieces of cloth) and most probably were levy'd as a tribute for 431
that purpose, from the equality of what every man brought. 651

The circle of natives about the tent being pretty large they engag'd
the greatest part of the afternoon in boxing and wrestling, the first of 526
which they call Fanga'tooa, the other Foohoo.[1] When any of them
chuses to wrestle he gets up from one side of the ring, crosses the [201]
ground in a sort of [measured] pace clapping smartly on the elbow
joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound that is
reckon'd the challenge. If no person appears from the opposite side
to engage him he returns in the same manner and sits down, but
sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground to provoke some
one to come out. If an opponent appears they come together with
marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling and taking time
to adjust the piece of cloth they wear which is fastened about the
waste. They then lay hold of each other by the piece of cloth, or a
girdle which they sometimes wear, with a hand on each side and one
endeavours to draw his antagonist to him, which if he is so lucky as to
effect he immediately trys to lift him upon his breast and throw him

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[1] He has got the words reversed: *fuhu* is boxing, *fangatua* is wrestling.

648 of people brought a good many fish which were chiefly mullet, and
431 others carry'd small ones stuck on branches as at Mareewagees
though more numerous in a kind of procession. They also brought a
643 small Turtle and afterwards a great many more Yams, all of which
with a piece of cloth, a mat and bit of red feathers were given as a
648 present to the Captain by Poulaho, besides two hogs which were
535 carry'd up and fasten'd to crown the two piles of Yams. About one
o'clock they began the Mai or dances, the first of which was almost a
[643] copy of the first we saw at Mareewagees house. The second was conducted by the Toobou, who also danc'd there, and had four or five
women in it who went through the several parts with as much
exactness as the men. Towards the end they divided to leave room
for two men who excercis'd their clubs as mentioned in the first
648 dances, and in the third which was the last two more did the same.
526 The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing, and one man
entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a Cocoa
411 leaf which is firm and heavy, but could not find one that would engage him at so rough a sport. At night we had the Bo'mai repeated,
535 in which Poulaho himself danc'd, but neither these nor the dances in
648 the day were so considerable or carried on with such spirit as those at
643 Mareewagees, which proves that in this as well as other countrys
there are private men able sometimes to give entertainments superior
to their Kings.

132 SUNDAY 22. The wind Easterly. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather.
The people unemployed. Some of our Gentlemen set out yesterday
114 morning to see the interior part of the island, and after walking some
[133] way met with a lake or Lagune which they cross'd in a Canoe, and is
probably an arm running from the Bay mentiond before to the westward as they did not see its communication with the sea. They then
[311] cross'd to the opposite side of the island, some parts of which they
[609] found very well cultivated, and stay'd all night but found the inhabitants not very willing to supply them with provisions though
[648] they treated them civilly in other respects. On returning back to day
one of them had his gun unexpectedly snatch'd from him by some of
the people that follow'd them, and another trusting a young man to
carry his lost it by the other setting off though he had carried it many
miles.

132 MONDAY 23. The wind from NE to NNW. Moderate breezes with dull
cloudy weather, a close air and in the evening a good deal of rain. In
114 the morning the cutter with the Master and the Discoverys cutter

264 wash their hands with a piece of the plantane tree broke and rubb'd
515 over them, the husk of the cocoa nut or any thing that has moisture,
which serves on all occasions and is a lesson necessity (from the
scarcity of water) has certainly taught them.

The situation of their houses was mention'd before; but notwithstanding
517 their method of life requires they should be much scatterd,
361 that each man may cultivate his own ground, they are very fond of
associating together, so that it is common to find several houses
empty and the owners conven'd in some other one or a convenient
spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by
533 conversing and other amusements. Their private diversions are
[535 chiefly singing, dancing and music perform'd by the women. When
[517 one, two or three or more women sing in concert & snap the fingers
it is calld oo'bai,[1] but when there is a great number they divide into
several partys each of whom sings on a different key which makes a
[535] very agreeable music and is call'd Heeva. In the same manner they
vary the music of their flutes by playing on those of a different size,
535 but their dancing is much as when they perform publickly. The
dancing of the men (if it is to be call'd dancing) although it does not
consist much in moving the feet as we do, has a thousand different
motions with the hands to which we are entire strangers. They seem
to be as numerous as all the steps in our different dances taken
together, & perform'd with an ease and grace which is not to be
[868] describ'd, nor conceiv'd but by those who have seen them. It appears
indeed to be one of the principal articles of their education, for the
boys when very young are constantly practising them and at no great
526 age perform them as dexterously as those that are grown up. There
are some others which may be calld their house diversions practic'd
by the grown people, one of which nam'd Kaka'habo[2] is exactly upon
the same principle as our Cup and ball. It is done by fastening a bit
of Tortoise shell, four inches long & one broad with the ends turn'd
up above an inch & fork'd, across the end of a small rod about four
feet long, near the other end of which a small round gourd shell is
fix'd with a string just of a sufficient length to allow its being thrown
into the tortoise shell. They also fasten the hard round seed of a plant
larger than a musket ball to each end of a string about two feet long,

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[1] *'upe*. The word has changed its meaning, being now equivalent to 'lullaby'. But it must always have had a wide significance: Mariner says (II, p. 217) '*Oobe*. This kind of singing is always accompanied with the *fango-fango*, (or nose-flute). The subjects of the song are much the same as those last described, but the style of music is different, being more monotonous and grave.' The songs 'last described' were 'descriptive of scenery . . . descriptive of past events, or of places which are out of their reach, such as *Bolotoo* and *Papalangi*.'

[2] Mariner calls the game 'habo', and says it was practised by women only. *Hepohepo* is to keep on throwing something up and catching it.

which they were thrown when the Sky Rockets were let off; the 648
immense Height they flew to struck them no less forcibly than seeing
fire burn in water, but when the Baloons went off with a horrid 177
Explosion close to their Ears it was hard to say whether their Terror
or Surprize was greater. Some of them cryed out 'Matte matte' (ie)
that they should be killed & begged that we would put a Stop to
every thing, but presently something less terrible drew their Attention;
their applause and admiration were expressed by a continual
Roar during the whole Exhibition. Some of our attention was
drawn off the Fire works to observe the various Passions with
which the poor Indians were agitated, they certainly could not
have expressed greater Wonder if angels had descended among
them in a Storm of Thunder & Lightening, for to them one seem'd
as miraculous as the other possibly could. In short every thing
appeared to them like Enchantment, what they saw before their
Faces they could hardly believe to be real but as something delusive
raised by the Power of Magic. Upon the whole they were played off
with good Effect & admirably calculated to raise Terror & Surprize
among them who never saw such things before.

When the fireworks were over another Entertainment was prepared 648
for us by the Indians which consisted of Dances by the Men &
Women. A large Ring was formed by the Natives, those in the inner 541
circle sitting all round it; at proper distances sat five or six Men 535
holding Lights in their Hands, which were bundles of dry Sticks [372]
burning at one end & these required constant trimming. A Band of
Music consisting of four or five Performers was placed at one part, 648
one beat very briskly with two sticks upon small Reeds of Bamboo
Cane, the others had large Canes about 2 yards long open at one end 541
& the other they beat slowly against the Ground, accompanying it 535
with their Voices in which they were joined by many others in the 533
ring; this accompanyment consisted of a Monotone made by repeating [534]
the double o three times, as thus $\overline{\text{oo}}$-$\overline{\text{oo}}$-$\overline{\text{oo}}$, the last tone being
drawn out longer than the preceding. This, the only vocal music,
was repeated the whole time in concert with the Instruments, if they
may be called such, & all together formed a plaintive Melody which
was not disagreeable. The music was no sooner begun than there 648
advanced into the Ring with a measured Step a Female elegantly
dressed with a Chaplet of Flowers on her Head. She was soon followed 541
by near a dozen more dressed in the same manner who all joined 535
together and formed the Dance. It consisted in moving in couples [301]
briskly round the ring, springing up & clapping their Hands all
together, throwing them by their sides, clapping one hand to the

648 head the other to their waist, then wriggling their backsides in a
541 lascivious manner, springing up again & repeating the same motions.
Then dividing in equal numbers, retreating back, then running
535 forwards & meeting, all the time repeating a Song & frequently
[532] looking upward towards the Sky. They continued dancing about a
quarter of an Hour & then went out of the Ring & were succeeded
by a new sett. It was universally allowed that their Dancing was very
beautiful & striking & much exceeding any thing of the kind that had
been seen among other Indians, & being performed by candle light
[431] had altogether a most pleasing Effect. As they withdrew each Nymph
took the Chaplet of Flowers off her head & bestowed it upon her
favourite Swain which no doubt was esteemed as a Mark of her
peculiar Grace; many of them had the Politeness to offer them to some
of our Gentlemen & they were accepted with Pleasure as marks of
their particular Favour.

When two or three Setts had thus entertained us they were suc-
648 ceeded by a party of Men whose Performance was not much unlike
541 that of the Women, except their entering into a kind of Dialogue
536 which we regretted that we did not understand, as it contained
frequent strokes of Wit & humour, if we might judge from the loud
[522] bursts of laughter echoing round us; they were composed of two
Parties, an elderly person from each side meeting at the Head of their
band & entering into a dialogue accompanyed with many shrewd
Gestures. This may be called a kind of Dramatic Entertainment, tho'
there did not seem to be any marked or different Character in it like
648 those in the same Species of Exhibition at the Society Isles. When they
had retired a Company of young women came into the ring & sat
541 down looking rather dejected. This unusual Appearance led us to
expect some new Entertainment, & we were not kept long in Suspence before a Scene truly novel tho' not very entertaining was exhibited. A Man came into the ring & without any Ceremony advanced to one of the Girls who immediately bowed down her head & presented her back in an advantageous position, upon which he laid as heavy [a] blow as he could with both hands open & then proceeded to the next, & so on till he came to the last but two, when for what reason it is difficult to say, instead of striking her on her back he gave her a blow with all his Force on her naked Breasts which struck her backwards. Upon this a Man who was sitting in the ring jumped up & knocked him down, he took it in good part & walked off without uttering a syllable. To see this unmerciful Beadle punished was no small Pleasure to us all, as it was really more than we could well bear to be inactive Spectators of so many beautiful

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Girls receiving such heavy blows from his villainous Hands. Had a 648
spark of the Spirit of La Mancha's Knight inspired us we would have
rescued them from the Hands of their Tormentors; but we sat still & 541
the Man who knocked the other down finished the Ciremony (or
whatever it may be called for we did not learn the reason of it); be it
as it will the Girls went through it without any outcries or complaints
& as soon as it was over they all rose up and danced as if nothing had
happened. Our want of a competent Knowledge of their Language
always kept us in the Dark in respect to this as well as other singular
Customs among 'em; it is difficult to conceive why a Spot destined
for a Scene of Mirth & pleasure should thus all at once be converted
into a place of Punishment, and that those very persons who had
come there for the express purpose of entertaining the Spectators
should be made the Victims of brutal Violence & savage Barbarity!

These Dances were kept up alternately by Companies of Men & 648
Women till late at Night, When an elderly Man, one of their Chiefs, 541
made a Speech acquainting them that we were satisfied with our 535
Entertainment & that it was time for them to repair to their respective
Homes. They immediately dispersed & we were left with Phenow,
his Misstress & attendants & a few other chiefs. Phenow's Servants 648
brought us some Fish & roots for supper while he himself went 634
scouring the Woods of Stragglers, whom we presently heard crying
out & were told soon after that he had nearly killed one Man, a 565
report we the more readily believed as we had seen many instances 681
of the cruel Treatm[en]t the Tooa[1] or lower order of People receive
from their Chiefs on the most trifling Occasions, & often through
mere Wantoness,[2] the Agè not being at all accountable for maiming
or even killing his Servants.

In Countrys like these situated in the most delightful Climates, 181
under the benign influence of indulgent skies, spontaneously producing the most delicious fruits in the greatest plenty, where Summer for ever smiles where Nature appears in her gayest attire, where all is beautiful all is lovely—mid Scenes like these the Immagination loves to rove, fond of indulging the Idea of having at last found the fortunate Isles where all those Blessings are contained that 'fancy fabled in her Age of Gold'—Where man lives in the State most agreeable to his Nature undisturbed by those Passions, those Vultures of the Mind, that are found to distract & torment him in artificial Society—where nothing but Benevolence Love & Charity dwell,

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[1] *tu'a*, commoner[s].

[2] 'mere Wantoness' does not appear to be quite true, but it is true that the chiefs exercised an arbitrary and quite unmeasured power of punishment or vengeance.

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[1777]

512 They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or
[515] in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring &
[533] sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked
yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked
[276] yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes
[514] the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water
[264] with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk,
[262] not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are
[271] served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often
brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a
[272] dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa
[565] nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will
[264] employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing
[262] material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in
[252] Capt^n Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play
upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before
[171] their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which
[533] they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young
[521] men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors.
The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious
[535] Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a
day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the
[226] Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures
others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the
Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work
351 about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appear-
417 ance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of
Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the
361 inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality
of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa
342 nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small
362 & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong
square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the
ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the
Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are
352 quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest
by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them,
& these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally
[415] to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their
[411] Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

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[1] *kali.*

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presently	anai
now	anai-eenee
Co-haiia?	What's this
Mogoo doogoobe }	a Gift or to give
Stone	Phee-emooa
white	Heena
red	goola
black or blue	ooree
Here	enee
sit down	anofo
below	lalo
to look	dugeedooa
Raw	oda-mada
Ripe	mo-moho
many	loogoodangalahee
a few	loogoodangajee
Cold	anoofea
Hot	vela
high	fooa
to kiss	oomma
well done	Maree-eh
Thank you	manoo
Come here	Haw
Go away	Aroo
I have none	Ogooi-cai

Make me a present	mai mea mogoo
go & bring it	aroo-omai
to come again	be-haw-aw
to smell	manava
Yes!	ee-o
No!	ekai
I	aw
You	coi
He	ee-e
Give or reach me	mai
Let me see	momada
Beads	Ha-howa
To trade	Fu-kattaw
to give	Fu-kafatai
Venereal Disease	Pabanga
to cut	Daffa
a term of disapprobation in common use among them }	ee-sah
Sick	mahagee
well or in health	Mo-ooi

1	2	3	4
Taha	ewa	doroo	fa
5	**6**	**7**	**8**
neema	ono	feedoo	varoo
9	**10**		
eiva	ongofooroo		

N. One of the following Lines the Girls frequently sing at the same time smacking the Finger and Thumb together 533 539

Doo seea sau neea daw fai ojee-mai

Sooee la soo-ee, ēh langeemai langee-ēh

Edoomelageea fucatabageea langeed-emelama langeedōdō

The following words they repeat in their common Dances [535]

Aina fogee aina fogee &c

These Words the Men sung altogether on approaching the Ship in their large Sailing Canoes [648] [609]

Edareeāh edagōdò &c

These monosyllables they use in hoisting the Sail of the Canoe as a direction for all to exert their Force together [461]

ee ō yā ēh &c

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9 -

[1777]

175 able, upon account of the various Isles and reefs (which are delineated in
the Survey) that a good deal interrupt and impede your Navigation;
175 however we anchor'd off them very well on the 17 Instant. Here we likewise
found our friend Feenow, Lord of all, and he certainly did behave in
634 a very friendly, liberal manner, making us large Presents of Hogs, Yams
609 &c, for which, tho' he was ever amply rewarded, still I give him Credit,
for it certainly has a more generous and social appearance than that of
absolute bargaining.

[177] On the 20th Instant by his desire the Party of Marines from both Ships
were taken on shore and exercised before him and his Court; they seem'd
much pleas'd at their various Maneuvres, and perfectly happy at their
175 Entertainment. As soon as our People had done, Feenow with about an
hundred of his principal Men got up and in return gave us a dance (what
609 they call a heavah) to the Tune of their Drums, and some Men who set
535 round the Drummers, at the same time singing; the Dancers all join'd in
[533] the vocal Musick and accompanied their bodily Movements with those
of a light wooden Implement between 2 & 3 feet in length (the form as in
[293] the Margin)[1] which they have for this Purpose. The amazing exactitude of
their various Motions, both with this implement and every joint of their
Body, and the perfect Time in their musick surpass'd every thing I had the
least Idea of; their motions were infinitely more uniform than any Company
[292] of Soldiers I ever saw exercise in my Life. They were decorated upon
this Occasion, with Cloth of various Colours, which set off their Persons,
that were by Nature exceeding good, to much Advantage; this with the
perfect regularity of their motions gave them a most striking and pleasing
175 Appearance. The Evening concluded with Fireworks, with which Capt
Cook treated them: they were exceedingly amaz'd at the extraordinary
177 revolutions of the Water Rockets in the Water; this must appear to them
indeed most wonderfull, that two of the most opposite Elements in Nature,
shou'd, for such a length of Time, seemingly act in conjunction.

175 Feenow during our Stay here treated us with many Heavah's and
Amusements of various kinds; some perform'd by Women, these were
609 generally in the Evening after Sunset; but we were very well illumin'd by
535 burning the dry'd Leaf of the Palm Tree and some ribs of the Coco Nut
[372] Leaf, on which was stuck Nuts containing an oily Substance, which
infusing itself into the Stalk and communicating the Oil as it melted from
one to the other, gave a light by no means inferior to our Candles. The
[292] Ladies were peculiarly attir'd for these Exhibitions in various colour'd
robes, in which they look'd very gracefull and beautifull; they perform'd
to the Musick of Drums and singing, were perfectly regular in their
Motions, which however were to us altogether novel, curious & laughable;
the seeing us laugh'd and pleased contributed much to their festivity and
every thing was conducted with the utmost good humour and Cordiality.
175 If there [was] such a Sensation as Anxiety felt among the Group, it was in
609 the vying of the Performers and Spectators which shoul'd most emphati-

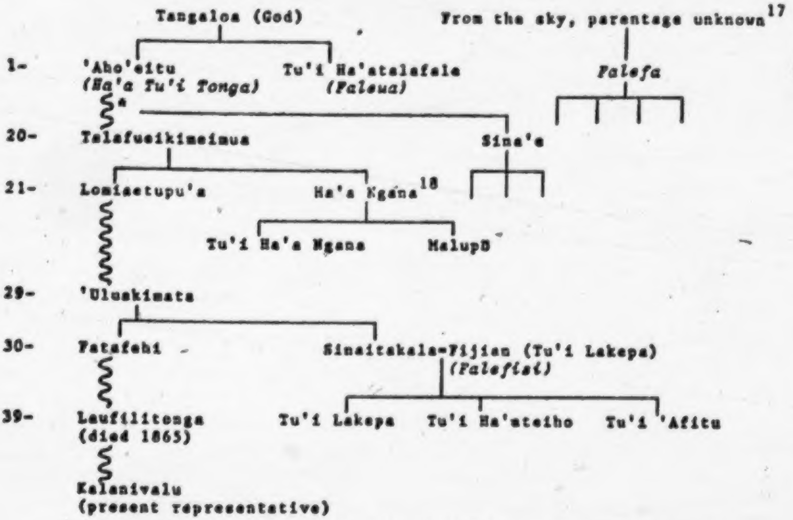
---

[1] There is no drawing in the margin. The 'instrument' was the *paki*.

a descendant of a sister of a former Tu'i Tonga. Dance presentation of 554
the Tu'i Tonga's village to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho acknowledges the fact that 565
the Tu'i Tonga is, in *kāinga* status, lower than the Tu'i Ha'ateiho. How- 613
ever, such an occasion concerns only Ha'a Tu'i Tonga and Falefisi when 535
they interact among themselves and is no longer of society-wide concern.[16] 612
In any other case, villages on the Kauhala'uta side would bring their dance 616
to the Tu'i Tonga, thus activating societal ranking principles which place
the Tu'i Tonga at the top. Thus, though the Tu'i Ha'ateiho does not have
the societal standing of the Tu'i Tonga, the Tu'i Tonga still must give
kāinga ceremonial recognition to the Tu'i Ha'ateiho.

The internal ranking of the Kauhala'uta can be seen in Figure 1. 554
565
613
173
616

Figure 1: Segmentation and Internal Ranking of Kauhala'uta


Tangaloa (God)
From the sky, parentage unknown[17]
1-
'Aho'eitu
(Ha'a Tu'i Tonga)
Tu'i Ha'atalafale
(Faleua)
Falefa
*
20-
Talafueikimeimua
Sina'e
21-
Lomiaetupu'a
Ha'a Ngana[18]
Tu'i Ha'a Ngana
Malupō
29-
'Uluakimata
30-
Fatafehi
Sinaitakala-Fijian (Tu'i Lakepa)
(Falefisi)
39-
Laufilitonga
(died 1865)
Tu'i Lakepa
Tu'i Ha'ateiho
Tu'i 'Afitu
Kalanivalu
(present representative)

* A wavy line indicates the passage of several generations.

The highest ranking *ha'a* of the Kauhala'uta is Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, and second is Faleua, both having descended from the god Tangaloa. When the Tu'i Tonga is absent, the head of Faleua takes his place. This *ha'a* is not really subservient to Ha'a Tu'i Tonga, because it did not segment from it, and the ceremonial language reserved for the Tu'i Tonga is also used for the Tu'i Faleua. The origin of the Sina'e is not definitely known, but they are thought to be the earthly half brothers of the Tu'i Tonga, because they are associated with the matrilineal side of the Tu'i Tonga and sit on the left side of the kava circle, the left side being lower and associated with the mother. The Sina'e are not nobles, but have places as chiefs in the royal kava circle of the King.

The third chiefly *ha'a* of Kauhala'uta is Falefisi, which segmented from

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

612
9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and 554
tuonga'ane ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the [602]
topics of conversation. [764]
10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the re- [574]
quired role.
11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind 554
of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights. 565
12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often [423]
trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be
because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because
"such things are affairs of the chiefs."
13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowl- 000
edge among most Tongan adults.
14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The [554]
Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived [565]
on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his [613]
people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a [616]
chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu [115]
line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i [127]
Tonga line.
15. See Figure 1.
16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of 554
the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* 565
of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i 613
Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the 616
Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers danc-
ing did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that [612]
they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the partici- [535]
pants' point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the
formal significance of this dance presentation.
17. The Falefa were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of [173]
their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a*
(commoners) or brought from Samoa.
18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmen- [173]
tation from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are in-
cluded in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here
differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not con-
sistent.
19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different [643]
ha'a but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is [644]
not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are
not lineages by the usual definition.
20. See Figure 2.
21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a 616
Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states. 613
22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a
mat and resembled one man with three heads. 554
23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word 565
itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata 173
was from Upolu, Samoa.
24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou
IV.
25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but 613
was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that 554
might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules 565
seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross- 581
cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin 582

ADRIENNE L. KAEPPLER

Folklore as Expressed in the Dance in Tonga[1]

121 A STUDY OF DANCE in Tonga must go back to the more basic art of poetry, for
535 understanding the poetry is essential if one is to understand the meaning of the
538 dance. On the other hand, if one is to study poetry or any other verbal art in Tonga,
it is essential to study dance, for today folklore is expressed mainly through the
medium of dance. Folklore and dance, then, are interrelated arts and must be
viewed in relation to the socio-political system which produced them.

538 There are two basic kinds of dance in Tonga—one which has movement as its
128 main element, and one which accompanies poetry. It is with this latter type that we
[535] will be concerned, and it can further be divided into two types. One type sings
the praise of the royal family, the high chiefs, and an ethnocentric love of Tonga,
[186] and is essentially an expression of allegiance to the established political and social
order; the second kind comprises legends and folklore from Tonga's hallowed
past, and also from more recent times. Indirectly, however, this second type of
poetry functions in the same way as the first. The example discussed in this paper
is of this latter type.

535 The usual kind of dance that accompanies poetry is called *lakalaka,* which literally
means "to walk" and, indeed, the leg movements are basically a walk that moves
one step to the left, then one step to the right, and occasionally forward and back.
The arm movements are graceful and intricate, deriving their distinctive character
from the rotation of the lower arm. The dance is performed by all the men and
[554] women of a village ranged in two or more rows facing the audience. The men
stand on the right side (from the observer's point of view) and women stand on
the left; the order in which they stand is determined by social status. The men do
one set of virile movements while the women do another set of very graceful movements
535 so that there are two dances going on simultaneously. Each group interprets
538 the poem in a manner consistent with the Tongan view of movements suitable and
appropriate for each sex. The movements dramatize the poetry. They do not
pantomime the words, nor do they symbolize in the sense that one movement
symbolizes one phrase, or idea. Rather they are figurative: the movements create
an abstract picture to which a number of meanings can be assigned, and conversely,
[181] one idea can be alluded to by several different sets of movements. This illustrates
the Tongan value of "not going straight," for the proper way to refer to ideas

or concepts is in a round-about way. This value is further exemplified in the poetry, 535
for the words do not necessarily tell the meaning of the poem. Thus the dance 538
creates a double abstraction—the movements allude to the words while the words [181]
allude to the hidden meaning.

The poetry is a series of concepts and references. Theoretically, these allusions 538
should be readily recognizable in a homogeneous society such as Tonga, where the
people have a common cultural tradition, and the poetry is written with the view 184
that only allusions are necessary and the meaning is clear. In fact, however, only a
few people, who are usually other poets, claim to understand the allusions with
their mythological and genealogical references.

To illustrate these allusive qualities of *lakalaka* poetry I shall use as an example 539
a *lakalaka* from Lapaha, Mu'a, Tongatapu. Lapaha was the former capital of [128]
Tonga and the traditional home of the most exalted line of Tongan rulers, the
Tu'i Tonga. The people of Lapaha are known for their dancing and their knowl-
edge of the sacred and legendary lore of Tonga. The poetry (*ta'anga*) of this [643]
lakalaka was composed about 1948 by the late Queen Salote Tupou III, who was a
descendant on her mother's side of the Tu'i Tonga line. The melody (*fasi*) and [533]
dance movements (*haka*) were created by Vili Pusiaki of Lapaha. This *lakalaka* [535]
alludes to the legendary Tongan turtle named Sangone, but the story of Sangone
is not told because it is assumed that everyone already knows the story. In fact, the
tale of Sangone is only suggested in the poetry by eight lines which are a riddle that
was used by a Tongan chief to find the shell of Sangone after it was buried in
Samoa. The object of the poetry, however, hidden in allusions, symbols, and
metaphors, is to trace the genealogy and praise the deeds and accomplishments of
Tupou I, progenitor of the present line of kings—the throne now being held by
Tupou IV.

The story of the turtle Sangone has been published by E. W. Gifford.[2] To summarize the main points, Hina of the underworld and a Samoan lived together in Tonga for a long time. When the Samoan wanted to visit his relatives in his homeland, Hina gave him her mother, a turtle named Sangone, to carry him home. Hina told him that the first thing he must do on his arrival in Samoa was to get a coconut-leaf mat and a bunch of coconuts for Sangone to bring back to Tonga. The Samoan did not do as he was told but went off to visit his relatives. The townspeople cooked Sangone and buried her shell in a hole. A boy named Lafai who saw where they buried Sangone was told that he would remain small (*pana*) and on the day that Sangone was found he would die.

When the story reached Tonga that Sangone's shell was buried in Samoa, the King of Tonga sent his brother, Fasi'apule, with a party to look for Sangone's shell. When they arrived in Samoa, they were served the customary *kava* (a ceremonial drink made of an infusion of the root of *Piper methysticum*). Fasi'apule, speaking in riddles that the Samoans did not understand, asked for several items. The people asked Lafaipana, who by this time was quite old but still a boy in appearance, to interpret the riddles. He knew the references, and Fasi'apule's requests were granted. Fasi'apule then sent for Lafaipana and asked him where Sangone was buried. After Lafaipana had showed the Tongan party the place he asked for a "perch for his pigeon" before they dug up Sangone. Fasi'apule, not understanding that this was a riddle, sent his men to get a perch for a pigeon.

as a back rest during the coronation of the 'Tu'i Kanokupolu at a place called 539
Havelu in the village of Kanokupolu. 643

The second part of Stanza 10 ends the poem by telling us that the reason for 539
the poetry is the commemoration of the great deeds of the chiefly ancestors of the
present King, such as the retrieval of Sangone's shell and the distribution of land.
It is such deeds that elevated the chiefs of old, and it is their descendants who are
today's chiefs, responsible for leading the people and making possible celebrations
such as the one during which this *lakalaka* is performed. The celebration (*katoanga*)
is referred to in the words "there are many people at *vahá akolo*" (the area
that divides two villages at the place where the palace stands). Line 53, a stylized
statement borrowed from an ancient dance type (*fa'ahiula*), refers to the stringing
of pandanus keys for a necklace worn by high chiefs at celebrations. The second
part of this stanza, then, brings us back to the present and acknowledges the high
position of the chiefs to whom the people owe their allegiance. This is the closing
counterpart of the *fakatapu* in Stanza 2.

The preoccupation with genealogy, apparent in the poetry, reflects the importance 538
of ancestry in the Tongan social system. On the social level all titles and property 539
are validated by appealing to genealogy, and on an everyday level all interpersonal 602
relationships are determined by the genealogies of the persons involved. 611
The structure of the poetry also pays strict attention to the rules of Tongan etiquette,
which also is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. The *fakatapu* 538
(Stanza 2) must acknowledge the presence of chiefs and people of high rank; and 539
the ending must again refer to the chiefs by bringing attention back to them. It is a 576
stylized way for the *lakalaka* to ask for permission to speak, and after having
spoken, again defer to the chiefs.

The story, then—that of Sangone in this case—is really secondary and is used 538
as a vehicle for presenting the real object of the poetry and its accompanying [539]
dance: to pay allegiance to the established order of Tongan society. [535]

The poetry can be interpreted in many different ways and on many different [181]
levels. This paper suggests only a few of the many possible meanings. Many of the
references are quite obscure and hidden in rhetoric and metaphorical language.
Even the performers seldom know the meaning of what they are performing. They
know that the references are to chiefs, but the actual stories and circumstances are [535]
known only to other poets who deal in similar Tongan lore, and sometimes to the
choreographer, who may be given an explanation by the poet who composed it.
The interpretation given here is a composite of information given to me by several 115
individuals, including dancers who knew only a few of the references, a ceremonial 539
attendant (*matāpule*) who helps to teach the dance and explained the obscure
references in Stanza 7, and a woman employed in the Palace office who knew the
meaning of Stanza 8. Only the Honorable Ve'ehala, keeper of the Palace records,
knew the meanings of Hau-o-Momo, Tangoipomana, the reference to *'ika moana*,
and the meaning of Stanza 9. Ve'ehala, however, is a prolific poet who has written [538]
lakalaka poetry for his own village as well as official *lakalakas* for the Tongan government.

The performance of the poetry with dance accompaniment is usually on state 538
occasions, as a "gift" to the Palace, along with first fruits or on other food giving 535
occasions, as a farewell or welcome for one of the royal family, for local celebra- [527]

538 tions such as the dedication of a new church, or as a welcome to visiting dignitaries.

535 As in any living dance tradition, the forms of dance in Tonga have changed. The
[527] poetry which dance accompanies, however, still makes reference to the same or similar themes: cosmology; legendary origin of monuments, tombs, and fabulous ships; heroes and beautiful women; sacred animals; and stories associated with outstanding local events. The performances serve the chiefs today just as they have always done—to honor and entertain them, and to demonstrate the allegiance of their subjects. As long as the present social system of Tonga remains, dances of this type will no doubt continue to be created and performed.

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NOTES

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113 2. Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Myths and Tales*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 8 (Honolulu, 1924), 49–52.

3. E. E. V. Collocott and John Havea, *Proverbial Sayings of the Tongans*, Bishop Museum Occasional Papers VIII (Honolulu, 1922), 48.

4. Edward Winslow Gifford, *Tongan Society*, Bishop Museum Bulletin 61 (Honolulu, 1929), 142, 233–234.

Bishop Museum
Honolulu, Hawaii

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

ABSTRACT

121 The problem of this dissertation is to devise a method to analyze
the structure of dance. Ethnoscientific in orientation, the method
128 presented borrows heavily from structural analysis as used in
linguistics, which by induction seeks to discover units and patternings
valid in terms of a particular system. The method devised is
then used to analyze the structure of Tongan dance.

121 The two most basic levels of dance organization derived, kinemic
and morphokinemic, are comparable to phonemic and morphemic levels in
[535] linguistic analysis. The kinemic analysis of Tongan dance isolates
47 movement units which are the basic components in that dance
tradition. Kinemes may have several allo-kines which vary physiologically
but are considered the 'same' or a 'variation' of a kineme
[126] by 'native speakers' of the dance tradition. The kinemes with their
several allo-kines are 'kinetically' notated in Labanotation, a graphic
system for recording human movement.

The second level of dance organization is called morphokinemic and combines sequences of kinemes into recognized movements. The internal structure of morphokines is described in terms of kinemes and the external distribution is discussed in terms of co-occurance of morphokine classes.

The third level of dance structure in Tonga is called the motif level. This section ennumerates some of the frequently occurring combinations of morphokines that form short entities in themselves.

[p. v]

121 These are termed motifs because of their likeness to folklore motifs
or motifs in the visual arts. Tongan dance concepts of movement as
interpretation and movement as beauty are briefly discussed and
[535] illustrated with motifs. The Tongan cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement is related to dance
motifs.

The fourth level of dance organization in Tonga is the structure
121 of whole dances. A dance in Tonga can be defined as a totality in
535 which the structural elements have a standardized chronological order.
Six genres of Tongan dance, each of which has a different combination of structural elements, are discussed in terms of dance movement and three factors external to movement--music, the association of poetry, and the occasion of performance. Interrelations of 'living' dance genres (within which new dances are still created) with 'dead but extant' genres (dances that are performed but no longer created) are discussed.

121 The method presented seeks to ascertain objectively the basic dance units and the ways in which they can be combined, and concludes that descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethnographer's point of view can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves.

123 'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways can be considered part of the household.

[121] My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic
[125] taste in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn
the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly
I just participated in Tongan life.

[121] On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a *matāpule* (ceremonial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner; and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

121 Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip,
I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories--
dance and tapa making[4]--and to explore the relation between these and
192 the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbal-
ized category that would correspond to the Western concept of the
122 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed
765 both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted
766 six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my
784
[535]
[287]

122 specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be
765 an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants
766 784 were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about
122 dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know
124 how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a
performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

122 The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in
535 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so
541 the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one.
I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been
123 held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately,
during my first field trip and the first three months of my second
field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also
learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, participation,
and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to
delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the
society.

121 Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be
presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering
126 of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but
[122] are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who
know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people
together especially when it was tapu to sing dance songs. These texts
[128] are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The

197 'peculiar way of speaking.' The language of Niuafo'ou, although it is
Tongan, has a dialect status which shows grammatical relationships with
Samoan. Unfortunately for the world of anthropological linguistics
this dialect has never been fully studied and it is in danger of dying
out, for the younger generation speaks the main dialect of Tongan and
535 only the remaining old people speak the Niuafo'ou dialect. The *tau*
178 *faka-Niua* is a dance local to Niuafo'ou, and it too is in danger of
being forgotten.

133 This chain of volcanic islands is relatively unimportant to Tonga
182 today, but it is these very islands that are important for an understanding
of the ecology which supports the Tongan social system. The
main inhabited islands of the Tongan group are coral islands, which in
most Pacific areas would be associated with lack of fertile soil and
[134] often a subsistence level economy. In Tonga, however, the flat coral
islands have reaped the harvest of the close volcanic islands and the
resulting deep, rich volcanic soil has made it possible to develop an
economy of surplus to maintain Tonga's highly stratified social system.
[162] The population concentration is mainly on these low-lying islands to the
134 east of the volcanic chain. The largest of this group of limestone
133 islands, Tongatapu, is less than 270 feet high, but in many places has
241 a soil depth of ten feet. The soil is excellent and a very large
proportion of the islands are intensely cultivated. The main food
plants are yam, taro, sweet potato, banana, sugar cane, manioc,
[262] coconut, and breadfruit. In addition, fruit of the mango, orange,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

554 is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. All interpersonal
[571] relationships are governed by the principles of rank. The arrangements
[535] of dancers in relation to each other and to the audience
reflects these principles.

554 The most important principle on which rank is based is a societal
565 division which differentiates chiefs from commoners. This is further
[643] refined in two ways: First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart
and he is known as *Tu'i*. Second, an intermediate class between chiefs
and commoners is *matāpule*, who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs.

554 The second and third principles of rank are derived from the
599 ranking of siblings within the family. The most important of these is
that sisters outrank brothers. It is only after sex of siblings is
taken into account that elder outranks younger. Thus a girl of 12
554 years of age will outrank her brother of 20 years of age. The extension
604 of these principles into the extended family results in sister's
[605] children outranking brother's children. Thus father's sister is the
highest ranking person to ego and mother's brother is lowest in
relation to ego. Ego can take what he likes from his mother's brother,
and must give everything he has to his father's sister.

565 The family ranking system has societal implications, for even the
554 highest chief will be outranked by his sister and his sister's
599 605 children will outrank his own. This dilemma at the top of the social
644 system was solved in two ways. One of the ancient traditional ways
554 was that a Tu'i's sister's child (usually the oldest daughter) had a

649 Tupou IV is Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua through his father, Tu'i Kanokupolu
619 through his mother's father, and Tu'i Tonga through his mother's
582 mother.

565 All other chiefs in the Kingdom trace their relationship to one
649 or more of these three lines and ultimately back to Ahoeitu, the first
[554] Tu'i Tonga. But according to the principles of rank, each knows his
relative status in relation to all the others.

565 An innovation of George I elevated thirty-three of these chiefs
to nobles, or legal chiefs. Each of these nobles and six *matāpule*
565 have hereditary lands which were granted by Tupou I, II, or III,
423 which for the most part reflect the ancient land holdings of the great
chiefs. These nobles in turn, parcel out pieces of land of 8 1/4
acres in size, called *api*, to each man over 16 years of age who
applies. (This is the ideal situation; in reality, however, many men
do not have their own *api*.) Thus, the nobles are subservient to the
Tu'i and commoners who hold land from a noble are subservient to him.

565 The societal divisions differentiated by blood and legality, as
535 well as the family ranking system can all be seen to operate in a
541 nation-wide *kātoanga*, 'celebration,' which uses dance. First, it is
nobles, that is, legal landed chiefs, who bring their villages to dance
for the celebration and thereby show their subservience and allegiance
to the Tu'i. Second, the dances represent the great traditional
societal divisions and have an internal ordering which reflects the
importance of these divisions. And third, the arrangement of the

565 individual performers visually displays the social organization of
535 the village.
541

Lakalaka is the present day formal dance type (see Chapter VII[A])
535 and is performed by 'all' the men and women of a village. They are
565
554 ranged in two or more rows facing the audience, the women on the left
621 (from the spectator's point of view) the men on the right. The center positions for both men and women are the highest positions in the dance. These positions are called *vāhenga* and are held by the highest ranking individuals in the village. The female *vāhenga* is usually the noble's eldest daughter. The male *vāhenga* may be the eldest son of a
[593] collateral line. Because the sister outranks her brother and because of the principle of brother-sister avoidance, brother and sister cannot stand next to each other (although in some cases it is said that the principle of high rank takes precedence and brother and sister do stand next to each other). Next to each *vāhenga* position is a position called *ta'ofi vāhenga*, which literally means to 'separate the *vāhenga*.' *Ta'ofi vāhenga* positions are usually filled by individuals of *matāpule* blood. Perhaps a *matāpule* himself will stand next to the male *vāhenga*, and the eldest daughter of the *matāpule* will stand next to the female *vāhenga*. In most villages the position next to the *ta'ofi vāhenga* is the place of *mālie taha*, 'the best dancer.' Sometimes, however, the *ta'ofi vāhenga* is also the best dancer, and then the third position is not distinguished from the rest. Or in some villages where there are several chiefly lines, the noble's daughter will take the first position,

A [See category 116, pp. 241, ff.--Analyst]

535 the daughter of one of the other chiefs in the village will take the
565 second position and the matāpule will take the third position.
554
621 The two end positions (male and female) are called fakapotu, and are usually occupied by individuals of important chiefly lines represented in the village. The dancers between the mālie taha and fakapotu are not differentiated. These positions are filled by the common people of the village, and just as commoners are not differentiated from each other, neither are the dancers.

535 Before the actual performance of the lakalaka at an official
565 government celebration, it is usually taken to the palace and presented
554 to the Tu'i. If he doesn't agree with the choice of individuals who
643
621 fill the positions of importance, he may ask that they be changed. It is a great honor to have the named positions and much argument in the village may ensue before the individuals are assigned. In some cases it is clear cut, but in others genealogies are traced, often in several different ways, in order to show that one individual outranks another. In Lapaha, the village of the Tu'i Tonga, there are so many chiefly lines who all want to be represented in the named positions, that the choice was often left to Queen Salote. It is desirable not only to show who is of highest chiefly rank, but also to show how many chiefly lines are represented in the village.

535 On the occasion of the final performance the spectators look first
[554] to see who the individuals are who occupy the named positions and
[565] decide which chiefly lines they represent. Then they settle back to

535 enjoy the dance. The dance itself is judged in four ways. First, the
535 poetry is judged by how skillfully the poet has included the necessary
517 speech-making elements within the structure of the poetry and how he
[538] has metaphorically alluded to the people and history of the village
that performs it. Second, the movements are judged by how skillfully they allude to the poetry and reflect the rhythm and mood of the associated music. Third, the dancers are judged on their overall performance, including the concept of va'ehala or va'etonu, that is, do they all step to the same side and together or do they move in opposite directions and bump into each other. They are also judged by the movements of the arms, including moving together as a group and on the contrast between the women's graceful movements and the men's virile movements. Fourth, the dancers are judged individually mainly on the proper movements of the head (see Chapters III and IV)[A] and their ability to 'act and look alive' while they dance.

The spectators feel māfana, 'inwardly exhilarated,' at a good performance. They tie scarfs or other decorations on the performers while they dance or tuck money into their clothing. They move their heads in concert with the performers and occasionally stand up and dance themselves. They shout, "mālie, mālie faiva" in appreciation, until finally by the end of the performance the dancing space is alive with the movements and song of the performers and the empathetic movements, applause, and shouts of the spectators.

A [See category 116, pp. 26-102--Analyst]

CHAPTER III

DANCE AND A METHOD FOR ITS DESCRIPTION

THE DOMAIN OF DANCE IN TONGA

128 At the outset it is necessary to define precisely what is meant
by dance and how the Western concept compares with the Tongan.

192 Let us begin with the term *faiva*. *Faiva* is defined by Churchward
535 as a noun meaning, "work, task, feat or game, etc., requiring skill or
ability; trade, craft; performance, play, drama, item (at a concert,
etc.); entertainment; film, moving picture" (1959, p. 23). Baker
defines *faiva* as, "calling, occupation, anything at which a man is
123 clever" (1897, p. 31). However, while I was in Tonga I was always
described by Tongans to each other as '*ta'ahine ako faiva*,' that is,
'the girl who is learning *faiva*.' Then they would enumerate the kinds
of *faiva* that I already knew something about or just what sort of
129 *faiva* I was interested in. When I was just beginning to learn Tongan,
192 I told people I was interested in learning *me'e* which Churchward gives
535 as the translation for dance (along with *hulohula* which means ballroom dancing). This confused my informants because *me'e* includes
only certain kinds of 'dances' and it is not a term that is generally
used today. I listened to their conversations until I discovered
that they were translating 'dance' as *faiva* and then qualifying it by
either listing one or more kinds of *faiva* or saying that I did the
192 *haka* well. *Haka* is an intransitive verb meaning, "to move the hands
535 rhythmically, esp. while singing." The reduplicated form *hakahaka*

192 makes it repetitive or continuing. *Hākahaka* means, "to be jubliant, to
535 express joy or exhilaration, esp. by movements of the hands and arms;" and the transitive form, *haka'i* means, "to sing or chant with appro-hand movements (*haka*)" (Churchward 1959, p. 207).

The closest Tongan equivalent of 'dance' then, is '*faiva* with *haka*,' that is, 'performance with hand movements.' However, a Tongan would seldom use this to describe dance. Instead he would use the term for the genre of *faiva* he was talking about or, if he were going to dance practice he would simply say, "*Teu 'alu 'o ako faiva*," 'that he was going to study *faiva*,' and there would be no confusion as to what he meant. If it were listed in the newspaper that on a certain occasion there were going to be *faiva*, it would be immediately clear as to what could be included.

124 In eliciting taxonomic levels of contrast *faiva* always emerged as
192 the most generalized term and thus the top vertical dimension in a
535 dance hierarchy. For example, if watching a dance I would ask, "*Koe fa'ahinga faiva ha e*?" (what kind of 'dance' is that?), I would immediately get the name of the category of *faiva* they were doing. Conversely if I would ask, "*Koe lakalaka ko fa'ahinga faiva*?" (Is the *lakalaka* a kind of *faiva*?), I would always get the answer "yes." On the other hand if I would ask in English, "Is the *lakalaka* a kind of dance?" I would sometimes get "yes" and sometimes "no." This confused me until I found that one category of *faiva* (*tau'olunga*) is often translated as 'Tongan dance' to distinguish it from the so-called

124 action songs such as *lakalaka*. In fact some of my informants when
192 speaking English denied that *lakalaka* is a kind of 'dance,' but they
535 affirmed that it is *faiva*. Thus, I could never say in English that
I wanted to learn 'Tongan dance' because this meant to them that I
was interested in *tau'olunga*.

192 It appears then, that the best term for the subject of this study
535 is *faiva* with *haka*. This delineates a block of human behavior or an
activity system which the Tongans themselves distinguish and separate
from other sorts of performances and also from ballroom dancing,
535 which, of course, does not use *haka*. The Tongan concept and the
Western concept are not identical; the Western concept of dance usually
focuses on the feet or legs. As a case in point, in a recent publicaltion
called *Ten Folk Dances in Labanotation* (Venable and Berk 1959)
folk dances of eight European countries were notated. It is characteristic
that it was only necessary to notate foot and leg movements,
while a short verbal explanation of what the arms were doing
was sufficient. The Tongan concept of dance mainly revolves around
what is done with the hands and we will see later how hands and feet
(and other parts of the anatomy) are concerned with the Tongan system
of classification.

535 It is interesting to note that although the Tongans have a mental
192 concept of a block of activity that is roughly similar to what we
would call 'dance,' they have no term for it. Such a term would not
communicate anything. When they talk about dance they use the term

535 192 for the category of *faiva*. The category name not only expresses what kind of *faiva* will be performed, but also communicates what kind of occasion it will be. An occasion on which *lakalaka* are performed is likely to be quite different from one on which *tau'olunga* are performed. In fact, however, *tau'olunga* may be included on a program with *lakalaka*.

It often happens in folk taxonomies that there is a 'hole' at one level of contrast, that is, there is no term for that level in the native language, or at least none was elicited. In the case of Tongan dance a terminological hole exists at the highest level of abstraction for there is no term for the entity we are talking about. I will, for want of a better term, use 'dance' in this dissertation to indicate the Tongan concept of '*faiva* with *haka*.' The reader must keep in mind, however, that the activities implied by the English term 'dance' are not identical, the principles which separate dance from non-dance are different, and the functions of dance are strikingly divergent.

METHODOLOGY

126 Describing dance has long created a problem for anthropologists, dancers, and writers of all sorts. It is sometimes possible to convey the atmosphere and excitment of dance in words, but it is impossible to reconstruct the 'artifact' through words, as dance has too many dimensions which operate simultaneously. Movements of various parts of

CHAPTER IV

KINEMES: SIGNIFICANT COMPONENTS IN TONGAN DANCE

ANALOGY WITH PHONEMES

121 The two basic units in linguistic analysis are phonemes and morphemes. The method of dance analysis presented here will distinguish movement analogues of phonemes and morphemes--that is, kinemes and morphokines. Kinemes are units treated as comparable to phonemes; that is, they are elements selected from all possible human movements and positions and are recognized as significant by people of a given dance tradition. Kinemes are those motions and positions which, although having no meaning in themselves, are the basic units from which all dance of a given tradition is built. The task of this chapter is to locate for Tongan dance the basic units and define the range of permissible variation within these units.

● 535 Tongan dance has several levels of structure, the most basic of these, the kineme level, is the substratum on which the other levels of structure are based. The analysis of the more complex levels depends on the definition and isolation of the kinemes, as statements about higher levels, especially the morphokine level, will be phrased in terms of kinemes.

121 When faced with a new or unfamiliar dance tradition the first impression may be one of overwhelming complexity, especially when many body parts are moving at the same time. In order to make sense out of a universe of movement that may seem at first glance to have no

121 which do not contrast can be said to be allo-kines. The sum of all the allo-kines defines the limits of the kineme and specifies the amount of variation allowable before it becomes a 'different' kineme. Kineme for our purposes can be defined as 'one of the significant units of motion or position arrived at for a particular dance culture by the analytical procedures presented above.' (For a comparable definition of a phoneme see Pike 1947, p. 63).

KINEMES OF TONGAN DANCE

Movement is accomplished through positions and motions of various parts of the body. An etic notation, for example, Labanotation, symbolizes these motions and positions. Movements can also be described and classified verbally. Positions and motions are theoretically limited only by the physiological limitations of the human body which is composed of head, torso, hips, arms, and legs, each of which can make only a limited number of movements.

535 From all the physiological possibilities the Tongans employ mainly a constellation of movements produced by legs, arms, and head. These three body parts are not of a similar order or of equal importance. The pattern and variation of leg movements is quite simple. The head is used mainly for style. However, arm movements are intricate and varied and are the most significant movements. It is mainly the leg movements which contrast between the genres or categories of dance, while it is the arm movements which contrast within the genre and thus differentiate one dance from another.

535 Let us look at some of the body parts separately.

Torso

535 Occasionally in Tongan dance the torso twists but this is not
129 considered significant or emic to the Tongans, which is shown by the fact that when I would perform for my teachers varying only the rotation of the body or torso they would say that the performances were the 'same.' On the other hand if I would vary foot or arm movements I was corrected immediately. Movements of the torso may make a performance more aesthetically pleasing but they do not make it right, wrong, or different. Such movements can tell us something about the dancer but not about the dance. The torso movement has no name and I had a difficult time trying to make my informants under-
535 stand what I was referring to. Perhaps this movement is not recognised as significant because it is not part of the indigenous movement system, it being used usually only in the contemporary dance types. Indeed many Tongans do not even consciously perceive it, just as Americans are seldom conscious of the sound of glottal stops.

Head

Head movement is of a different order. Head movement adds style to a dance, makes a dance more aesthetic, and differentiates good dancers from poor dancers. However, it is accepted as fact that head movements should be included, and a rendition which uses the head
535 differs from one that does not use the head. In fact, it was when I
129 used my head in the prescribed way that my teachers were most pleased.

595 [123] It was quite often the aspect of head movement that they talked about when speaking of my progress with each other (for example, "*ta'ahine poto fakateki*" which means 'clever at moving the head'). There are two types of head movement but only one of them is emic. The emic head movement listed below as a kineme is named, *fakateki*, which gives evidence that it is recognized as a movement.

Hips

In Tongan dance the hips do not move in a way that is significant or emic to Tongans. However, there is a natural movement of the hips following the leg movements. In the case of the hips, absence of exaggerated movement is considered significant. In fact at one very high level of contrast in which Tongan dance is distinguished from non-Tongan dance, the principle or dimension of contrast is hip movement.

Three body parts have significance to a structural analysis of Tongan dance. Motions and positions which derive from use of the head, legs, and especially of the arms will be used in analyzing the formal structure of Tongan dance at the kineme level.

Head Kineme

The first part of the body to be considered for emic significance is the head. There is only one head kineme that has such significance and this is a tilt where the head moves quickly to the right side. 595 126 128 The head will be labeled 'H' to abbreviate 'head.' The subscript $_1$ denotes the occurence of the side tilt.

126 In Labanotation:
128
535 H_1

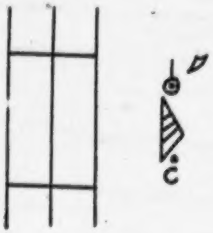


Figure 4.1. Side head tilt, H_1.

In Labanotation 'C' is called a presign for the head, indicating that what follows it in that column refers to the head. A triangle facing right means it moves to the right side. Slanting lines within a symbol mean that it is in a high position. The '⫰' means 'return to normal.' The '›' designates that '⫰' refers back to the presign 'C'. The '•' designates that the movement is not quite as far as the symbol '▷' indicates, that is, it is at an intermediate position between normal '▨' and '▷'. The symbols say:

⫰ return to normal
▷ tilt to side, high position
•
C presign for the head

In this analysis H_1 can be used to refer to the side tilt movement of the head.

An etic element of movement is present in head kineme, H_1, which will not be given a componential notation because it is not

126 contrastive. This is an accent which can be used in movements of the
128 head, legs, and arms. It is usually used on the beat and often marks
535 the end of a movement. The heaviness of accent varies with the individual. Accent is written in Labanotation as '▽'. When it is filled in '▼' it signifies a heavier accent. Adding an accent changes the manner of performing a movement. But it is not a kineme because its presence or absence does not make a movement different. Accents usually occur in specific places in certain movements. Failure to use the accent does not make the movement wrong but is usually on the order of an allo-kine.

535 Leg Kinemes

The second part of the body with emic significance is the legs. The letter 'L' abbreviates 'legs.' Important in Tongan dance is how the body is being supported and what the supports are doing. In Tongan dance legs do only a specified number of things: they fold cross-legged, they bend down and up, they step, they turn, and they rotate.

Labanotation symbols are based on rectangles and it is easiest
126
128 to understand their use in the case of leg movements. There are three levels of support--normal, middle, and high. These levels are incorporated into the symbol. Normal level is designated by a dot in the middle of the symbol; low level, in which the knees are bent, by a shaded symbol; and high level, in which one would be standing on

126 one's toes, by slanting lines (as in the triangular symbol in Figure
128 4.1). In Tongan dance only normal and low levels are significant for
● [535] leg movements so only the dot and shaded symbol will be used.

535 The Labanotation staff has two columns to the right and two
126 columns to the left of a center line for notating leg movements.
128 The center columns are for the supports, which in Tongan dance is
either the legs or, in a sitting dance, the hips. The second columns
from the center line are for leg gestures.

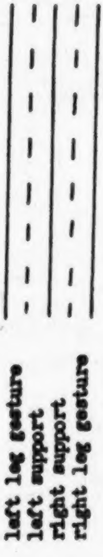


Figure 4.2. Leg columns of Labanotation staff.

535 In Tongan dance there are eleven significant variations of leg movement. They are enumerated below. For simplicity the Labanotation will be for the right leg, but the movements can be performed with either leg.

L_1, the first leg kineme, is a forward step in normal or middle [126] level. Note how the rectangle is altered to point forward—that is, [128] to the top of the page. There are two allo-kines noted. Allo-kine a is a normal or walking size step. Allo-kine b is a very short step. In Labanotation an 'X' preface to the rectangle indicates a short step. The length of the step is not significant, and can vary from a walking size step to a step of only a few inches. In the photograph my informant has just stepped forward and is preparing to lift her back foot for another forward step.

L_1

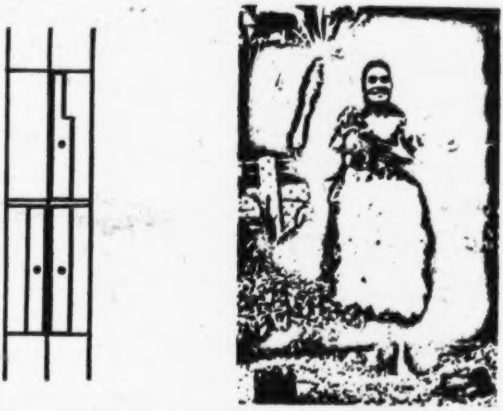


Figure 4.3. Kineme L_1, allo-kine a, normal size step forward.

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

535

47

L₁

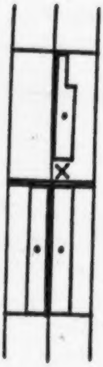


Figure 4.4. Kineme L_1, allo-kine b, short step forward.

[126]
[128]

L_2 is a backward step in normal or middle level. Note that the rectangle points backwards. Again, there are two allo-kines showing that the length of the step is not emically significant.

L₂

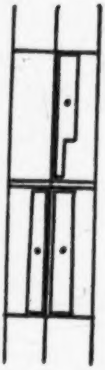


Figure 4.5. Kineme L_2, allo-kine a, a normal size step backward.

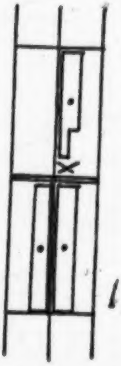


Figure 4.6. Kineme L_2, allo-kine b, a short step backward.

● 535 L_3 is a step in 'place.' 'Place' in Labanotation terms means to the center of weight. Thus, a step in 'place' can be made without moving the center of weight as in allo-kine a where the foot is lifted and then steps in the same place. Or a step in 'place' or 'to place' can be made to where the center of weight is. In allo-kine b after a forward step is taken, the other foot is brought to the center of weight or to 'place.' In allo-kine c the foot is brought to the center of weight after a backward step. In allo-kine d after taking a step to the left with the left foot '◁', the right foot steps left in order to bring it to the center of weight or to 'place.' [126] [128] 'Place' or to the center of weight is symbolized in Labanotation by '⊡'. In the photograph my informant is just about to put her foot down in 'place.'

This kineme is an ambigious one, not agree upon by my informants. Some informants classed these four allo-kines together, the significant dimension being that the feet are brought together and the weight taken by both feet. Others considered only allo-kine a, stepping in place, to belong here, while allo-kine b should be a part of L_1, allo-kine c should be part of L_2, and allo-kine d should be part of L_4, the significant dimensions being a move forward, backward, or sideward.

● 535 L_3

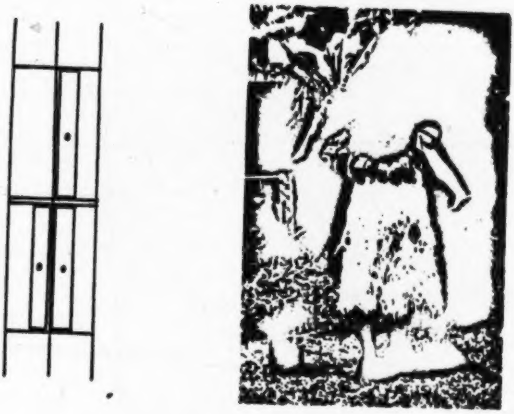


Figure 4.7. Kineme L_3, allo-kine **a**, a step in 'place' without moving the center of weight.

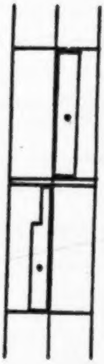


Figure 4.8. Kineme L_3, allo-kine **b**, after a left forward step, right foot steps in place.

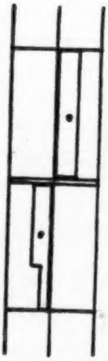


Figure 4.9. Kineme L_3, allo-kine **c**, after a left backward step right foot steps in place.

535

L_3

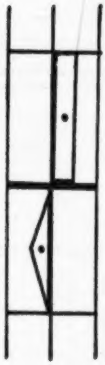


Figure 4.10. Kineme L_3, allo-kine d, after a left side step, right foot steps in place.

[126]
[128]

L_4 is a side step in middle level. Note that the rectangle becomes a triangle pointing to the direction in which it is going to move. There are two allo-kines. Allo-kine a is a normal size step about 12-15 inches. Allo-kine b is a small step, often only 2 inches. The size of the step is not emically significant.

● 595 L_4

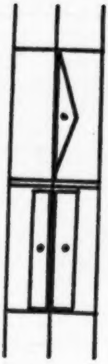


Figure 4.11. Kineme L_4, allo-kine a, a normal size step to the side.

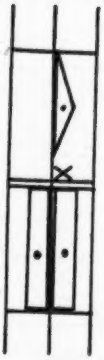


Figure 4.12. Kineme L_4, allo-kine b, a short step to the side.

L_5 is a jump with both feet which can be performed to the front,
595 to the back, or to either side. In Labanotation when no symbols
126 appear in the support (center) columns it means that the body is in
128 the air. In performing a jump the preparation is shown below the double line. The supports bend (indicated by an '×' prefix in the leg gesture column), they lift from the ground (there is nothing in the support column), they return to the ground (in these examples after the double line) which in Tongan dance is on the beat.

● 535 L_5

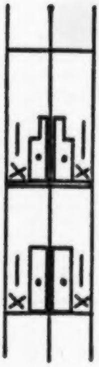


Figure 4.13. Kineme L_5, allo-kine a, a forward jump with both feet.

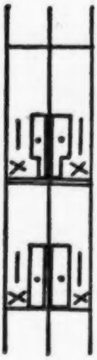


Figure 4.14. Kineme L_5, allo-kine b, a backward jump with both feet.

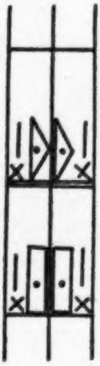


Figure 4.15. Kineme L_5, allo-kine c, a jump to the right with both feet.

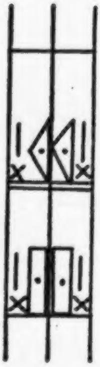


Figure 4.16. Kineme L_5, allo-kine d, a jump to the left with both feet.

535 L_6 is a bending of the knees low in place. This is accomplished in the Tongan movement system by bending the knees as far as possible while keeping the feet flat on the floor and the back straight. The straightness of the back is very important. It does not make the movement 'different,' but it separates those who have the traditional 'right' to do the dance type in which it is used, from those who have just learned it by copying and do not realize what are the important [644] elements of the dance. Those who have the 'right' to do this dance genre (ula) come from the village of the highest king or Tu'i Tonga. This village is today known as Lapaha. The people who do this movement say that it makes the upper legs hurt terribly while it is being learned, but that one must keep doing it until he is ready to drop in order to do it properly. They associate the pulling in the muscles of the upper legs with keeping the back straight.

L_6

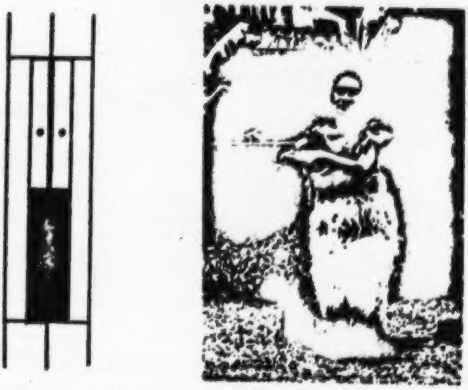


Figure 4.17. Kineme L_6, the legs are bent low in place.

●535 [126] [128]

L_7 is a turn. This is accomplished in the Tongan movement system by turning the body and then stepping. The symbol for clockwise rotation is '▱' while '|' means it is a half turn, or '—' means a quarter turn. Allo-kine a consists of turning the body one quarter turn and stepping slightly forward in the direction of the turn. Allo-kine b consists of stepping forward and making a half-turn on that foot. Allo-kine c consists of stepping in place and making a full turn while the other lower leg is raised to the back. This kineme is an ambigious one. Informants usually say there is only one kind of turn, meaning allo-kine a, which is the traditional type of turn. Allo-kines b and c are used mainly in tau'olunga, which is a recent dance genre.

L_7

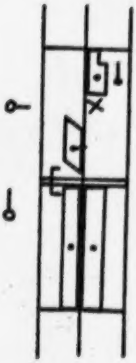


Figure 4.18. Kineme L_7, allo-kine a, body turns one quarter and foot steps slightly forward.

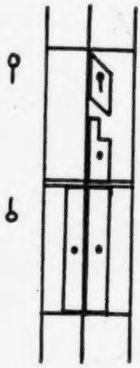


Figure 4.19. Kineme L_7, allo-kine b, the right foot steps forward and the body turns one half turn left.

● 535 L_7

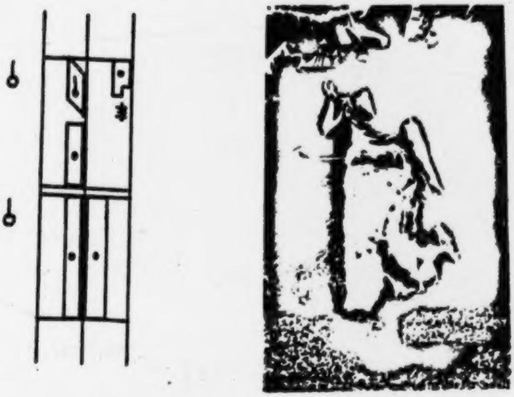


Figure 4.20. Kineme L_7, allo-kine c, the left foot steps in place, the body turns one whole turn left, while the right lower leg is raised backward.

L_8 is a rotation of the lower leg that moves the heels out and in. This is usually used to mark time when no other foot
535 kinemes are used. It is notated in the leg gesture column (second
126 column from the center) because the legs rotate but the supports do
128 not move. A hold sign 'o', is placed in the support column to show that there is no movement or change in weight distribution.
535 Sometimes this lower leg rotation is very small and scarcely perceptible to the observer. It is important to the dancer, however, because the movement helps him to feel the pulse of the music.

535 L_8

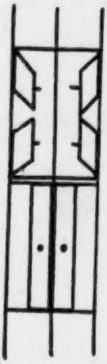


Figure 4.21. Kineme L_8, the heels are moved out and in to mark time.

L_9 consists of a quick lifting of the foot by a bend of the knee.
One foot steps and receives the weight and the other knee quickly
535 bends. The knee bending is notated in the leg gesture column. The
126 '✻' designates the amount of flexion of the knee. In the photo-
128 graph in Figure 4.22. the dancer on the left is just about to take
535 a forward step while the dancer on the right has just lifted her
left leg with a quick bend of the knee.

535 L_9

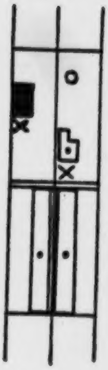


Figure 4.22. Kineme L_9, right foot steps forward and left foot is quickly lifted.

535 L_{10} is a touch of the foot without shifting weight. There are three allo-kines. In allo-kine a, after one foot steps, the other foot touches in place without shifting weight. In allo-kine b the ball of the foot touches to the front. In allo-kine c the ball of the foot touches to the side. In allo-kine d one foot crosses in front of the other and touches the ground.

L_{10}

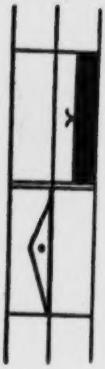


Figure 4.23. Kineme L_{10}, allo-kine a, left foot steps to the left, the right foot touches in place without shifting weight.

535 L$_{10}$

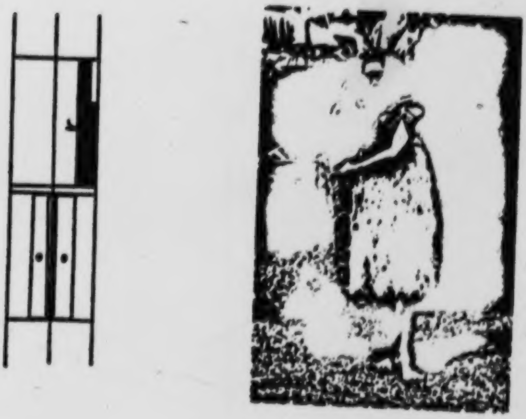


Figure 4.24. Kineme L$_{10}$, allo-kine b, right foot touches to the front without shifting weight.

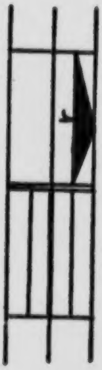


Figure 4.25. Kineme L$_{10}$, allo-kine c, right foot touches to the right side without shifting weight.

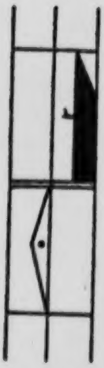


Figure 4.26. Kineme L$_{10}$, allo-kine d, right foot touches to the left in front of left foot without shifting weight.

● 535 L_{11} is the cross-legged sitting position. In the Tongan version of sitting cross-legged the upper legs should be nearly parallel, especially for women. The left lower leg is placed to the back right diagonal forming an acute angle at the knee. The right lower leg is forward left diagonal forming a 90° or larger angle at the knee. The
535 right lower leg is thus in front of the left leg. The hips are
126 indicated by '+'--note that this symbol is in the support column
128 where the stepping of the feet was in the previous kinemes. The '‡' designates the upper leg; '≢' designates the lower leg; '▯' designates the back right diagonal; '▯' designates the forward left diagonal; '—o—' means 'in front of'; '⌒' means a touch. While in this position, the right foot, '≢', marks time by moving up and down.

535

L_{11}

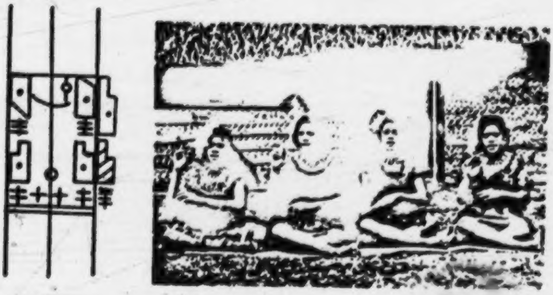


Figure 4.27. Kineme L_{11}, cross-legged sitting position. The girl on the right of the photograph is in the 'correct' sitting position. The other girls have their legs too far to the sides. This is quite often the case with young girls. Men also do not keep their upper legs as straight forward as do the women.

535 Summary of Leg Kinemes

These eleven leg kinemes are those that are significant in the Tongan dance system. From this inventory we can now make statements about the use of the legs in this tradition. First we can say that the legs are always flexible at the knee. The main movements of the legs are straight steps to the front, back, or side, and the flexing of the knees. Leaps--that is, jumps from one foot to another--or large steps are not significant categories in Tongan dance. Perhaps this is because full use of the upper leg would be required for a leap or large step.

This limited use of the upper leg is probably most important for a characterization of Tongan leg movements. Although the upper leg certainly does move when taking steps or bending, it moves always
535 as a result of movement of the lower leg and never for itself. In
291 the earliest accounts of Tongan dance the dancers are described as
[304] being clothed between the waist and the knee. It was not considered in good taste to expose this part of the body and it was this part of the body that was tattooed in ancient Tonga.

516 To move the upper legs by themselves is called _fakamahae_.[1]
517 Anyone, and especially a woman, who moves this part of her legs is considered to have very poor taste, and indeed, to be even vulgar.

---

[1] This word usually refers only to women.

535 The Tongans when seeing a modern rendition of the Hawaiian dance move-
829 ment _'uwehe_ in which the knees were opened to the sides, were shocked
(traditionally in Hawaii this movement is done bending the knees
535 forward). A group of school children in Tonga did a take-off on
857 ballet for a program but refused to use their upper legs as is proper
in ballet which caused their performance to have very little resemblance to classical ballet.

535 Movement of the upper leg is hindered by a tightly wrapped _vala_,
292 a garment which extends from waist to knee for both men and women.
Traditionally this wrap-around skirt-like covering was made of tapa;
today it is made of cloth. Only during dances do the women wear the
[291] _vala_ to the knees. For ordinary street wear women wear the _vala_
extending from waist to ankle under Western style clothes. 'Traditional' Tongan dance costumes used today consist of a _vala_ of tapa (or cloth) completely covered with ti leaves, shells, seeds, or layers of tapa. On top of this dancers wear a waist mat (_ta'ovala_) of woven pandanus or a flower or leaf girdle (_sisi_) which extends downward several inches from the waist. This clothing not only restricts movements of the hips and upper legs but also hides any movement made there.

[824] Today for one type of dance called _tau'olunga_ a skirt of shredded
hibiscus inner bark (_fau_) is sometimes worn, especially for informal
535 or tourist type occasions. During this kind of dance the movements
of the legs are a bit more free, but it is always the lower leg which

535 is free. This limited use of the upper legs can also be seen in sitting
dances. We have seen in L_{11} that the correct sitting posture has the
upper legs almost parallel and close together, and the right lower
leg is crossed in front of the upper legs which makes the upper legs
inconspicuous.

192 The lower leg is called *va'e*, and includes the foot and lower leg.
521 The upper leg is called *alanga*, but I have never heard this word used
in conversation. When speaking about dance Tongans speak only about
192 what the *va'e* are doing. They translate *va'e* as 'feet' but never as
'legs.'

535 In Tongan dance terminology the upper leg does not exist. Move-
ments of both the upper legs and hips are repressed. Conversely, if
535 a dancer at a very informal occasion wants to be risque, the way to
517 do so, is to move the upper legs and the hips. On the occasion of a
moonlight picnic for example, when informal dancing is called for, the
most applauded dancer is one who uses her legs in any way not accepted
by the Tongans as 'correct.'

535 This ideal is relaxed in the dancing of young girls. For example,
517 one Tongan choreographer set the movements of a dance for four young
858 girls and included one movement where they touched the inside of their
knees with their hands. When this dance was taught to a grown woman,
this movement was changed by the original choreographer, to touch the
upper part of the thigh.

535

Arm Kinemes

The third and most important part of the body emically significant in Tongan dance is the arms. The arm movements, intricate and complex as they seem, can be broken down into six basic groups of kinemes. These groups are 1) rotation of the lower arm, 2) bending and flexing of the wrist, 3) eight finger positions, 4) five directions for the facing of the palm, 5) seventeen arm positions, and 6) touching and brushing. It is the combination of these 35 kinemes that form Tongan arm movements.

126 In Labanotation it is not usual to abstract just a part of a limb and notate its movements in space without saying where in space the limbs are. For example, one doesn't ordinarily notate a rotation of the lower arm without notating in what position the arm is held. However, because I want to notate each kineme separately, it will be necessary to do this. In the terminology used here, the position of the arms adds an additional contrast. Thus when I notate kinemes without arm position, I do so because the arm position is also significant in the movement system. A kineme in one arm position is different from the same kineme in a different arm position. Each kineme is significant by itself, and combinations of kinemes result in a higher level of structure (morphokine). Thus, in order to analyze the smallest significant units of movement, it is necessary to treat all aspects of motion and position separately.

126 Another thing must be noted about the way I use the Labanotation system. In writing Labanotation it is usual to notate a movement in the most economic way. However, I may write movements in a manner that would be considered redundant in regular dance notation, using this redundancy to make clear exactly what kinemes significant in Tongan dance are being used. This procedure will facilitate comparison of various movements.

535 The six groups of arm kinemes are not equally important at the emic level of Tongan dance. The most important and discretely contrasting are arm rotation, wrist flexion, and finger position. The palm facings and arm positions constitute the 'environment' in which these three groups of kinemes occur. Perhaps we can say they are comparable to the 'noise' or 'redundancy' in speech as these terms are used in communication theory.

● 535 Lower Arm Rotation

The first and most distinctive kineme in arm movements of Tongan dance is the rotation of the lower arm. It is this movement, so often repeated, that is perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of Tongan dance. This kineme will be notated R_1. 'R' abbreviates 'rotation.'

R_1

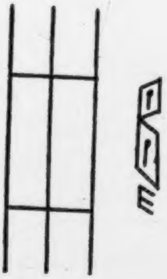


Figure 4.28. Kineme R_1, the lower arm rotates.

535 The symbol for the lower arm is '⊏'. The clockwise rotation
126 symbol is '▯' (see also L_7 and L_8 above); and '▯' is counter-
128 clockwise. As in the case of leg movement, a half turn is notated
'†'. I have notated this turn as a half turn, however, the amount
535 varies from one half to one quarter. The half turn is at the wrist
end of the lower arm--it is impossible to turn the elbow end of the
lower arm a half turn.

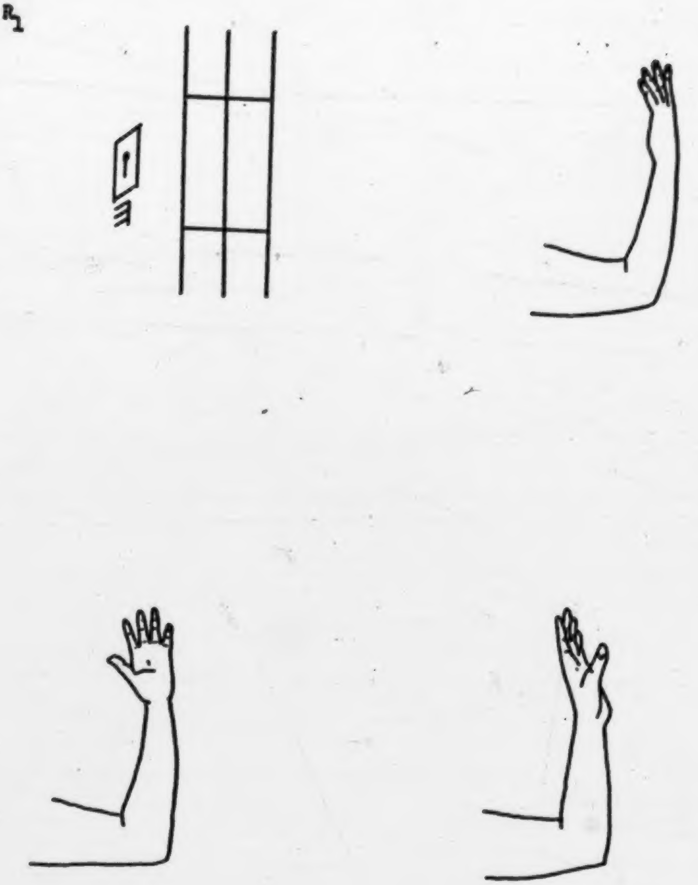


Figure 4.29. Three stages in the rotation of the lower arm.

535 Wrist Flexion and Extension

The second type of arm kineme is flexion and extension of the wrist. In many arm movements there is a wrist flexion which follows naturally from the movement of the hand and these need not be notated. The two wrist kinemes noted are those where there is a definite emphasis on wrist motion and which are significant in the movement system. When the wrist is relaxed with no flexion or extension it can be said to be in 'normal' position. The two kinemes begin from this normal position. 'W' abbreviates 'wrist.'

W_1 is a kineme in which the wrist is extended--that is, bent
[126] backward. The amount varies from slightly extended, 'И' to as far
[128] back as is comfortably possible, 'И̸'.

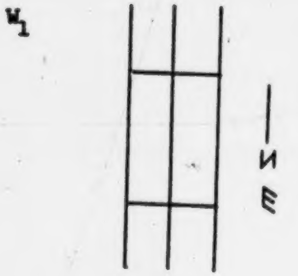


Figure 4.30. Kineme W_1, allo-kine a, the wrist extends part way back.

● 535 W_1

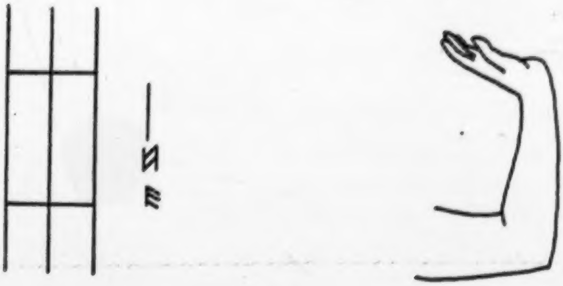


Figure 4.31. Kineme W_1, allo-kine b, the wrist extends fully backward.

W_2 is a flexion of the wrist that carries the hand forward. 535 The amount varies from slightly flexed, '×', to flexed fully forward, 126 '✳'. (Note that 'Ɛ' is the same symbol as for the lower arm. 128 There should be no confusion here as the lower arm cannot bend. It is obvious from context that 'Ɛ' in this case refers to the wrist.)

535 W_2

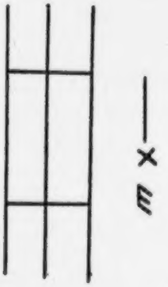


Figure 4.32. Kineme W_2, allo-kine a, the wrist flexes part way forward.

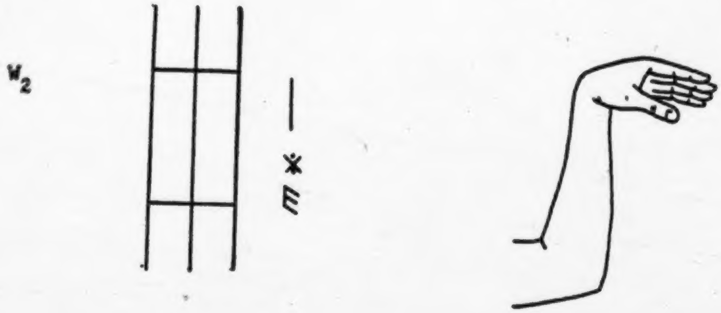
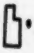


Figure 4.33. Kineme W_2, allo-kine b, the wrist flexes fully forward.

Palm Facing

The third group of arm kinemes involves the facing of the palm. The end product of rotation of the lower arm or flexion and extension of the wrist is the direction of the palm facing. There are five significant palm facings in Tongan dance--all other physiological possibilities that may be encountered in Tongan dance are allo-kines of one of these five.

One way that the palm facing is used in Tongan dance results from rotation. In this case the palm begins either upward or backward and ends facing downward or forward. Another way is as an end product of wrist extension. In this case the palm usually begins facing down and ends facing forward. A third way is to help define the arm positions. 'P' will be used to abbreviate 'palm facing.'

● 535 P_1 is a kineme in which the palm faces forward or away from the
535 body. Palm facing is notated ' '. Note that the forward pointing
126 rectangle, '', is the same symbol as used for forward steps (L_1
128 above). This symbol is used throughout the Labanotation system to
indicate forward.

535

P_1

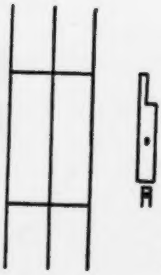


Figure 4.34. Kineme P_1, the palm faces forward.

● 535 P_2 is a kineme in which the palm faces backward or toward the [126] body. Note that the backward pointing rectangle indicates facing [128] back.

P_2

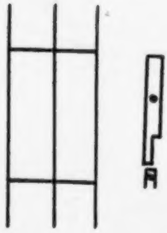


Figure 4.35. Kineme P_2, the palm faces backward.

P_3 is a kineme in which the palm faces upward. This is [126] indicated by a 'place' symbol with slanting lines, '▨', meaning it [128] faces 'place high.'

P_3

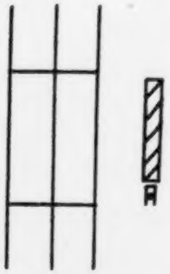


Figure 4.36. Kineme P_3, the palm faces upward.

● 535 [126] [128] P_4 is a kineme in which the palm faces down. This is indicated by a 'place' symbol that is shaded in, '█', meaning it faces 'place low.'

P_4

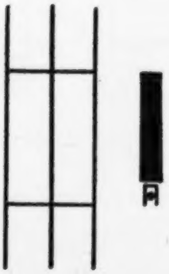


Figure 4.37. Kineme P_4, the palm faces down.

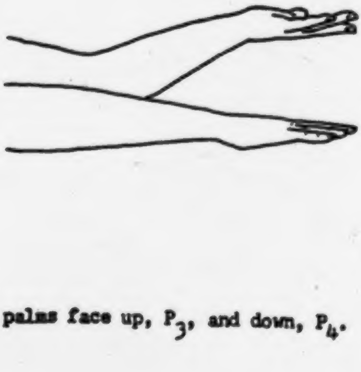


Figure 4.38. The palms face up, P_3, and down, P_4.

● 535 P_5 is a kineme in which the palm faces to the side. Side is indicated by a triangle pointing to the side indicated.

[126]
[128]

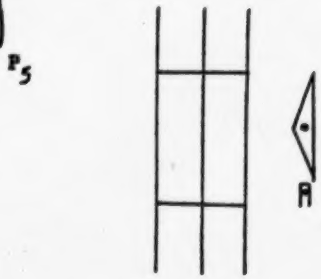


Figure 4.39. Kineme P_5, the right hand faces to the left.

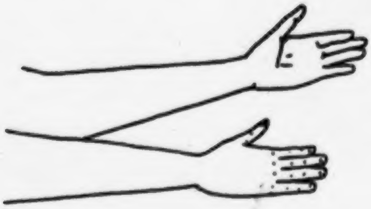


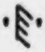
Figure 4.40. The hands face to the sides.

Finger Positions

535

The fourth group of kinemes is the flexion and extension of the fingers. There are eight finger kinemes that are significant or emic in Tongan dance. Although physiologically some of these kinemes are really a flexion of the palm, the Tongans contrast them with other finger positions--thus, they will be referred to here as finger kinemes. 'F' abbreviates 'fingers.'

535
126
128

F_1 is a kineme in which the fingers are extended and flat. The symbol for fingers is ''. There are two allo-kines. Allo-kine a is a straight position of the fingers, this is designated by a single extension symbol, ' '. In allo-kine b the fingers are slightly extended backward, this is designated by a double extension symbol, ' '. Allo-kine b is used when opening the fingers from another F kineme and usually is used to mark the beat. In kineme F_1 the thumb can either be held parallel with the fingers as in the drawing in Figure 4.41. or it can be slightly opposed. When the thumb must be opposed this is considered a different kineme, F_7.

535

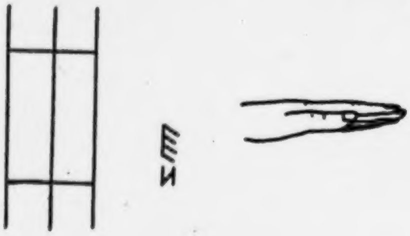


Figure 4.41. Kineme F_1, allo-kine a, fingers flat in relaxed position.

● 535

F_1

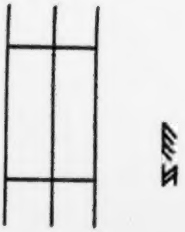


Figure 4.42. Kineme F_1, allo-kine b, fingers extended backward.

F_2 is a kineme in which the fingers are slightly flexed.

[126] [128] Flexion in Labanotation is indicated by '×'; '×' indicates slight flexion; '⋇' indicates flexion that forms approximately a circle; '✱' indicates flexion in which the fingers are fully flexed forming a fist. Other degrees of flexion and extension of fingers are physiologically possible and Labanotation recognizes them. In Tongan dance, however, other degrees are not significant categories.

F_2

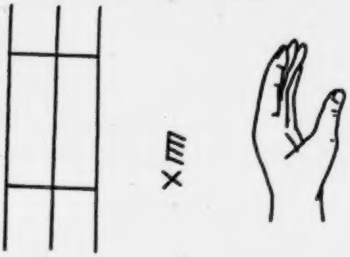


Figure 4.43. Kineme F_2, fingers slightly bent.

F_3 is a kineme in which the fingers are flexed so that the second finger touches (or almost touches) the thumb. The ring and little fingers are usually a bit more flexed than the first two fingers.

F_3

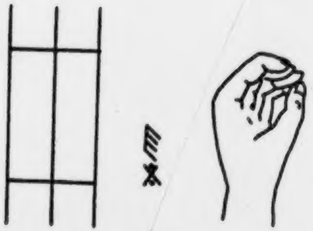


Figure 4.44. Kineme F_3, fingers rounded.

F_4 is a kineme in which the fingers including the thumb are fully flexed to form a fist.

F_4

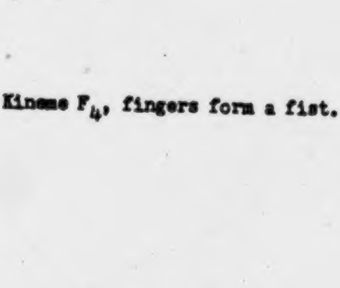
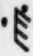
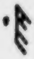


Figure 4.45. Kineme F_4, fingers form a fist.

535 F_5 is a kineme in which the fingers are flexed to form a fist,
but the thumb is extended. In this case it is necessary to indicate
[126] the fingers individually. This is done by placing dots on the
[128] general finger sign to indicate the fingers referred to. For example,
'' indicates the thumb, '' indicates the first finger, and so on.

F_5

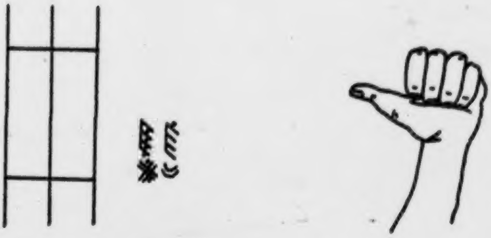


Figure 4.46. Kineme F_5, fingers form a fist and thumb is extended.

F_6 is a kineme in which the thumb and index finger are extended and the other three fingers are fully flexed.

F_6

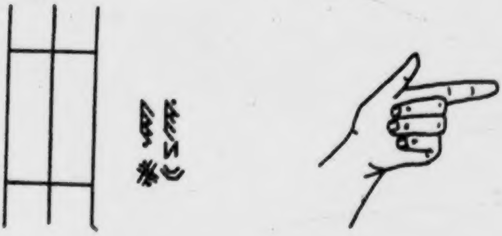


Figure 4.47. Kineme F_6, pointing position.

535 F_7 is a kineme in which the thumb and fingers are extended in opposition to each other. The defining feature of this kineme is that the thumb is extended at a 90° angle to the fingers, which distinguishes it from F_1.

F_7

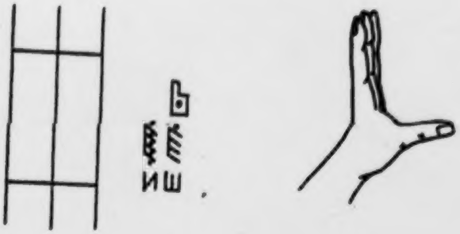
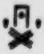


Figure 4.48. Kineme F_7, thumb extended at 90° angle to fingers.

[126
128] F_8 is a kineme in which the fingers and thumb are extended in opposition to each other and the palm is flexed, ''. The position is the same as F_7 except for the flexion of the palm.

F_8

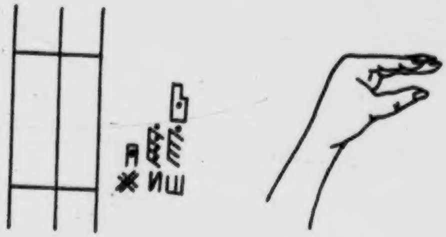


Figure 4.49. Kineme F_8, thumb is flexed parallel to fingers.

Arm Positions

Thus far the kinemes have been relatively simple and the variations few: rotation of the lower arm, two wrist kinemes, five palm facings, and eight finger kinemes. All of the simple and complex movements of the hands and arms are built from these four groups of kinemes. One further group of kinemes determines where in space the movements are made. This group of kinemes involves the position of the arms. There are seventeen variations of arm position in which the first four groups of kinemes are performed. However, all kinemes are not performed in all of the arm kinemes. Only certain combinations of kinemes are significant categories, and these will be presented in the next chapter. Some of the arm kinemes are quite static in that they are held while the hand and lower arm movements are performed. Others are those of the beginning and ending of a movement in which the arm moves in space from one position to the other. The arm kinemes can be said to be passive environments in which the hand and lower arm movements occur, and yet they can contribute to 'meaning' for simply a change in arm position can change the whole narrative meaning of a movement.

The kinemes for arm position will be noted 'A' for 'arm.' The subscripts 1 to 17 will designate the positions.

A_1 is an arm kineme in which the whole arm is in a forward, middle position.

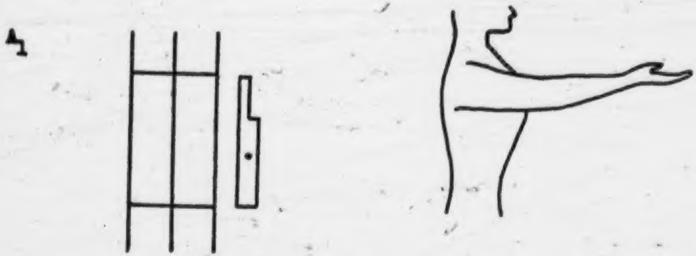


Figure 4.50. Kineme A_1, allo-kine a, whole arm is forward middle.

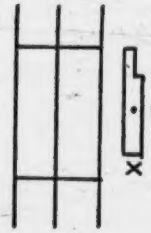


Figure 4.51. Kineme A_1, allo-kine b, arm is slightly bent in forward middle.

535 A_2 is an arm kineme in which the arm is raised to the front.
Labanotation has no single symbol for this position, therefore it is
535 necessary to write a position between the two closest ones. In this
126
128 case, A_2 is between the Labanotation symbols for forward middle (A_1)
and that for forward high (which is not a significant category in
535 Tongan dance).

A_2

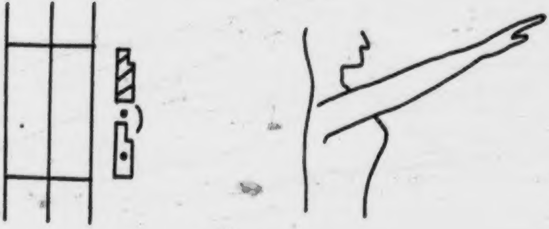


Figure 4.52. Kineme A_2, arm raised forward.

A_3 is an arm kineme in which the arm is in a forward position but in low level.

A_3

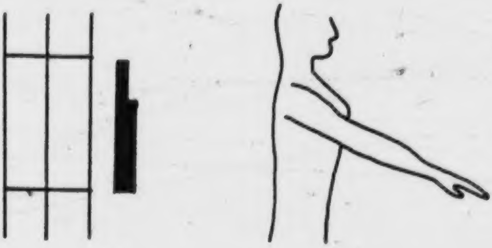


Figure 4.53. Kineme A_3, allo-kine a, arm is forward low.

● 535 A_3

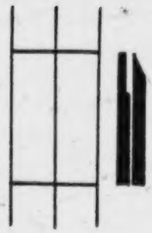


Figure 4.54. Kineme A_3, allo-kine b, arm is slightly bent so that lower arm is diagonal.

A_4 is an arm kineme in which the arm is slightly bent at the side of the body or at 'place low.'

A_4

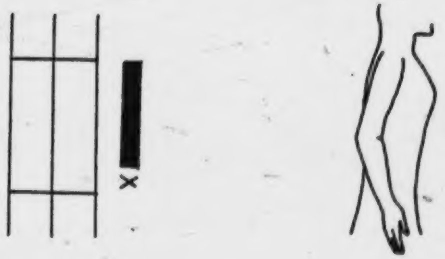


Figure 4.55. Kineme A_4, arm is slightly bent at the side of the body.

535 A_5 is an arm kineme in which the arm is extended out to the side in middle level.

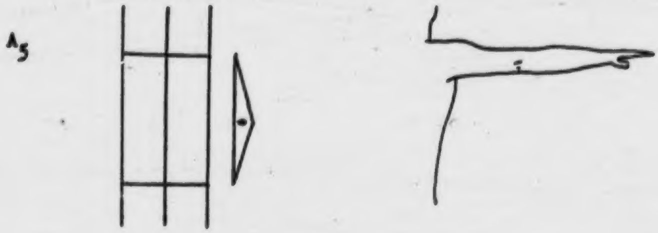


Figure 4.56. Kineme A_5, allo-kine a, arm extended to the side.

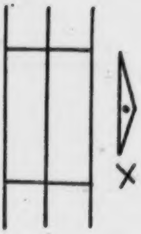


Figure 4.57. Kineme A_5, allo-kine b, arm is slightly bent in side middle.

535 A_6 is an arm kineme in which the arm is in a position raised to the side, or in 'side high.'

A_6

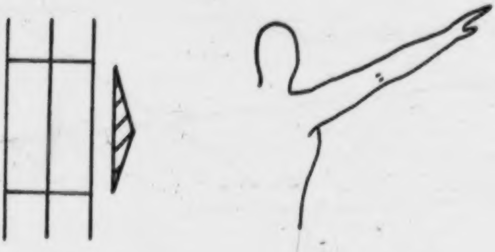


Figure 4.58. Kineme A_6, arm in side high position.

A_7 is an arm kineme in which the arm is in a side low position.

A_7

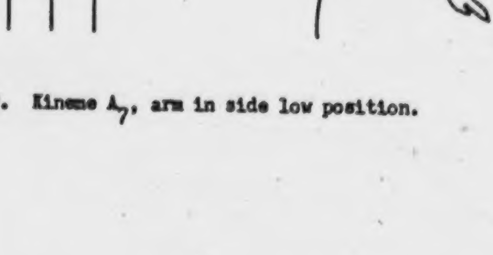


Figure 4.59. Kineme A_7, arm in side low position.

535 A_8 is a kineme in which the arm is flexed at the elbow at approximately 90°. There are at least three allo-kines. Allo-kine variations include the bending of the arms at approximately 90°, but only when they do not have the upper arm straight down at the side.

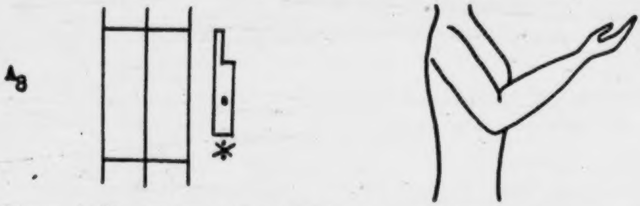


Figure 4.60. Kineme A_8, allo-kine a, arm is bent forward at approximately 90°.

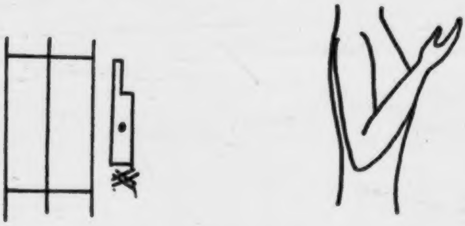


Figure 4.61. Kineme A_8, allo-kine b, arm is bent forward a bit more than 90°, but not as far as A_9.

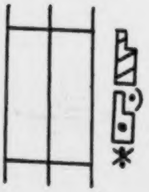


Figure 4.62. Kineme A_8, allo-kine c, arm is bent forward at approximately 90° but raised to a level between middle and high.

535 A_9 is a kineme in which the arm is bent forward but considerably more than 90°. There are at least two allo-kines. In this case the defining feature is that the lower arm is vertical or nearly vertical.

A_9

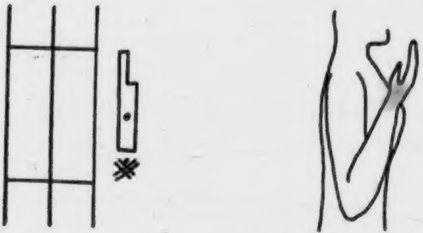


Figure 4.63. Kineme A_9, allo-kine a, the arm is almost fully bent.

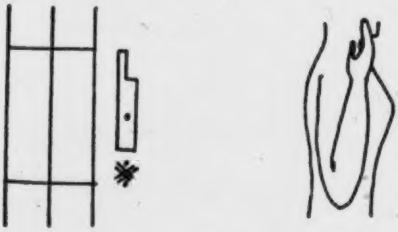


Figure 4.64. Kineme A_9, allo-kine b, arm is fully bent, upper arm is parallel to the body.

A_{10} is an arm kineme in which the arm is bent forward at approximately 90° and the upper arm is parallel to the body.

A_{10}

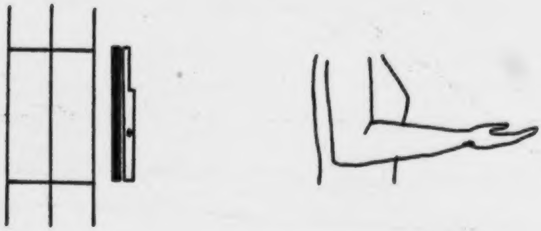


Figure 4.65. Kineme A_{10}, arm is bent forward and upper arm is parallel to the body.

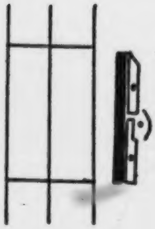


Figure 4.66. Kineme A_{10}, allo-kine b, upper arm is parallel to the body while lower arm is forward between middle and diagonal.

535 A_{11} is a kineme in which the significant dimension is that the lower arm is crossed horizontally in front of the waist. The upper arm has little significance in this case and can be held in one of several positions. In the main allo-kine the upper arm is held in a forward low position and the lower arm is in a side middle position approximately at waist level.

A_{11}

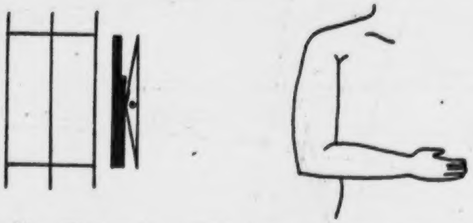


Figure 4.67. Kineme A_{11}, allo-kine a, lower arm is crossed horizontally at waist level.

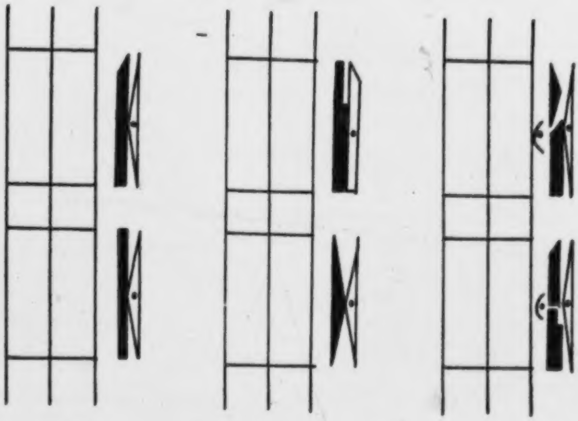


Figure 4.68. Allo-kines of A_{11}.

535 A_{12} is a kineme in which the significant dimension is that the lower arm is crossed diagonally in front of the chest. The upper arm has little significance and can be held in one of several positions. In the main allo-kine the upper arm is held in a forward low position. Again there are several variations.

A_{12}

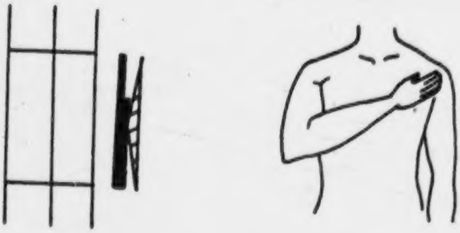


Figure 4.69. Kineme A_{12}, allo-kine a, lower arm is crossed diagonally in front of chest.

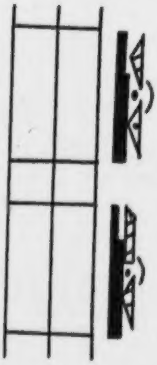


Figure 4.70. Allo-kines of A_{12}.

A_{13} is a kineme in which the lower arm is basically side high as in A_{12}. Here, however, the lower arm does not cross diagonally in front of the chest but only far enough so that the hand reaches the middle of the chest. The upper arm is in a side position. Again there are several allo-kines.

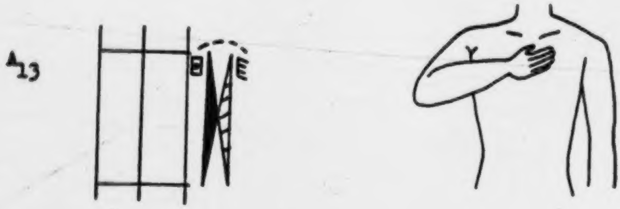


Figure 4.71. Kineme A_{13}, allo-kine a, lower arm crosses diagonally to the middle of the chest.

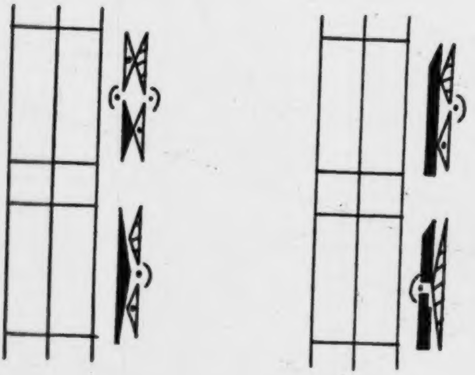


Figure 4.72. Allo-kines of A_{13}.

535 A_{14} is a kineme in which the lower arm is held horizontally as in A_{11} but at chest level rather than at waist level. The upper arm is unimportant in itself and is simply the means by which the lower arm is raised.

A_{14}

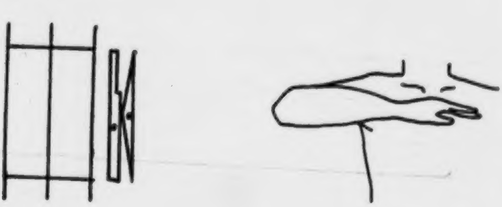


Figure 4.73. Kineme A_{14}, allo-kine a, lower arm is horizontal at chest level.

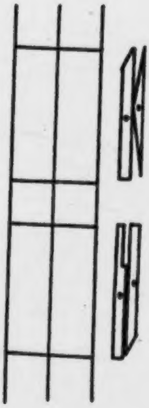


Figure 4.74. Allo-kines of A_{14}.

●535 A_{15} is a kineme in which the lower arm is held in a vertical position at 90° from the upper arm. Thus, the upper arm must be held in a position horizontal to the shoulder.

A_{15}

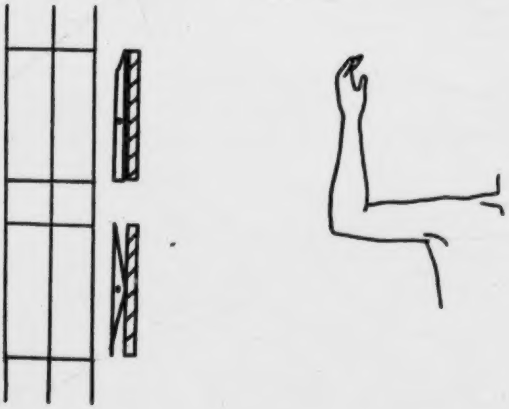


Figure 4.75. Allo-kines of Kineme A_{15}. The lower arm is vertical from shoulder level.

535 A_{16} is a kineme in which the arms are flexed downward about 90° to the side. That is, in the position in which to place a hand on the hip.

A_{16}

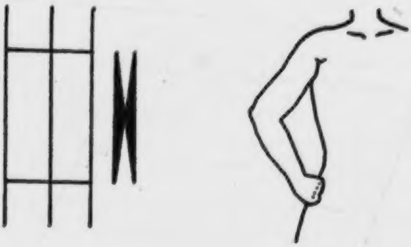


Figure 4.76. Kineme A_{16}, position in which to place a hand on the hip.

A_{17} is a kineme in which the arm is flexed upward from the side. That is, in a position in which to place a hand on top of the head.

A_{17}

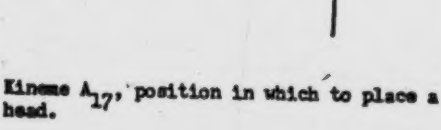


Figure 4.77. Kineme A_{17}, position in which to place a hand on the head.

535 Touching Kinemes

The last group of arm movements significant in Tongan dance
535 involves touching or brushing. 'T' abbreviates 'touching.' T_1
126 designates touching and T_2 designates brushing. In Labanotation a
128 bow '⌒' is used to symbolize touching. By connecting the appropriate columns, the two ends of the bow show which parts of the body are touching. (A bow with broken lines '╭╌╮' shows that two body parts are related to each other or near each other but not actually touching.)

T_1 is a kineme that consists of touching the hand to a part of the body. In the example notated the hands, 'E', touch.

535

T_1

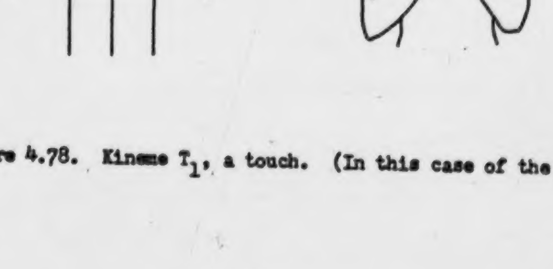


Figure 4.78. Kineme T_1, a touch. (In this case of the hands.)

● 535 T_2 is a kineme that can be called 'a touch that moves,' or in other words a brush. In the example notated the left palm faces up. The right hand perpendicular to the left with the palm facing back, brushes the little finger over the left palm until it faces to the side.

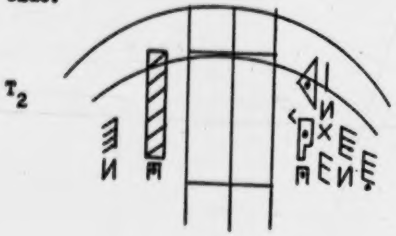


Figure 4.79. Kineme T_2, a brush.

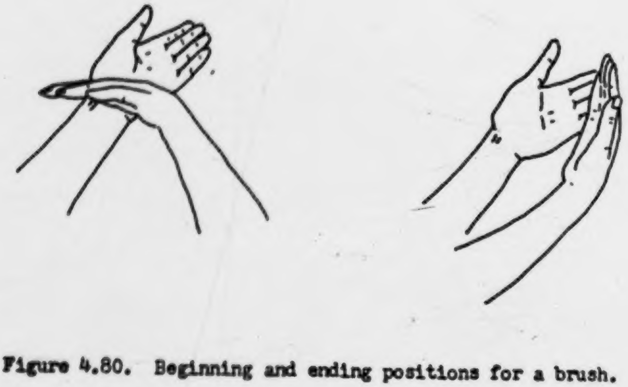


Figure 4.80. Beginning and ending positions for a brush.

535 Summary of Arm Kinemes

We can characterize Tongan arm kinemes as using mainly the lower arm. The upper arm is usually only the means by which the lower arm is moved to the correct position in order to make the appropriate movements. All groups of arm kinemes--rotation, wrist extension and flexion, palm facing, finger flexion, arm position and touching are centered on the lower arm. Aesthetics, meaning, and interpretation alike, all depend mainly on the lower arm. When speaking of arm movements, Tongans refer to what is done with the nima--the hand and lower arm. They do not refer to the upper arm. Although there is no vulgar connotation in moving the upper arm (as there is in moving the upper leg) the movements and concepts about movements usually [517] exclude the upper arm. When movements are made with the arms close to the body--physiologically accomplished by the upper arm being close to the body--they are called haka nonou or haka nomo-iiki and are considered difficult to do and therefore are more applauded. These movements contrast with haka loloa--movements which are done with the arms extended--that is, with the upper arm away from the body. It should be noted that extended arm positions, taking the upper arm away from the body are more often used by men than women.

Summary

An inventory of Tongan dance kinemes, that is, units analogous to phonemes, has now been presented. These are the components from which all Tongan dance is structured. There are 47 kinemes that are significant in the '*faiva* with *haka*' movement system. There are 84 allo-kines or physiological possibilities that have been enumerated and it has been shown how these are grouped as variations of Tongan recognized kinemes. When notating Tongan dance emically it is possible to do so with this small number of significant kinemes. When viewing Tongan dance, we can see what kinemes are used and how they vary in different contexts.

The kinemic inventory is summarized in Table I giving a classification of Tongan dance kinemes by body part, and includes all of the significant movements in Tongan dance. The highest level or starting point in this classification is the large body part performing the motion or position in which motion takes place. Each level is a category subordinate to the one directly above. The 'name' of the kineme is most specific at the lowest level and more general at successively higher levels. For example, L_4 can be called from lowest level to highest, a step, a lower leg support, a support, or a leg (*va'e*) movement. Reading from highest level to lowest level one can ask a series of questions: "What do the legs do in Tongan dance?" The answer can be ascertained by reading the next lower level of contrast. They either support or move without supporting. "How do they support?" Either with the hips or with the lower leg. "When supporting with the lower leg, what do they do?" They step, bend, or turn. "How do they step?" Forward, backward, to the center

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 100]

TABLE I. CLASSIFICATION OF TONGAN DANCE KINEMES BY BODY PART

Kinemes of '*Faiva* with *haka*'												
Head	Va'e (Lower legs)						Nima (Lower arms)					Touch
	Supporting				Not Supporting		Rotation lower arm	Finger position	Wrist position	Palm facing	Arm position	
	Hips	Lower leg			Lower leg	Foot						
		Step	Turn	Bend								
H_1	L_{11}	L_1 L_2 L_3 L_4 L_5	L_7	L_6	L_8 L_9	L_{10}	R_1	F_1 F_2 F_3 F_4 F_5 F_6 F_7 F_8	W_1 W_2	P_1 P_2 P_3 P_4 P_5	A_1 A_2 A_3 A_4 A_5 A_6 A_7 A_8 A_9 A_{10} A_{11} A_{12} A_{13} A_{14} A_{15} A_{16} A_{17}	T_1 T_2

535 of weight, or to the side. Thus by referring to this chart the reader has the information needed to tell which parts of the body are relevant in the structure of Tongan dance and what specific movements or motions are significant for that body part.

The physiological aspects of the kinemes of Tongan dance, classified according to body part and motion-position, are summarized in Table II. Each kineme occurs at the point where the body-part axis coincides with the motion-position axis. Where no kineme is noted we know that motion-position is not a significant category in Tongan dance. This chart gives the reader the information needed to tell what are the types of action significant in Tongan dance as well as what body parts are used. Table II is adapted from linguistic charts used to classify phoneme systems (see, for example, Gleason 1955, p. 24).

From the data provided we can make generalizations about significant components in Tongan dance at various levels. At the highest level of abstraction, we can say that Tongan dance uses mainly the lower leg and the lower arm, the head is used mainly for style, and other parts of the body are quite insignificant. Although kinemes vary with the dance genre, in general the same basic components are used and the same elements of performance are respected or rejected.

535
177 Tongan dance has been remarkable in the persistence of its movements. Dance forms are still quite similar though minor changes

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 102]

TABLE II. PHYSIOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF TONGAN DANCE KINEMES ACCORDING TO TYPES OF MOTION-POSITION

	Flexion	Rotation	Straight Movement through space	Facing	Touch
Head	H_1				
Lower leg supporting	L_6 L_{11}*	L_7	L_1 L_2 L_3 L_4 L_5		
Lower leg not supporting	L_9	L_8			L_{10}
Lower arm		R_1			
Palm extension of lower arm				P_1 P_2 P_3 P_4 P_5	
Fingers	F_1 F_2 F_3 F_4 F_5 F_6 F_7 F_8				T_1 T_2
Wrist	W_1 W_2				
Arm	A_1 - A_{17}				

* hips also support

535 have occurred by internal evolution and by adaptation of other Western
177 Polynesian concepts. Some of the music has been Westernised. But the kinemes or smallest significant units of movement seem to have persisted--at least from the time of European contact until the present (Kaeppler 1967b). In the future new movements diffused from other Polynesian traditions, are likely to be adapted to the basic Tongan dance kinemes.

CHAPTER V

MORPHOKINES: MEANINGFUL MOVEMENTS IN TONGAN DANCE

535 128

ANALOGY WITH MORPHEMES

In Chapter IV the significant kinemes of Tongan dance are listed and the etic nature of one or more allo-kine for each are notated. There are more allo-kines which could be listed, but they seem unnecessary at this point because they fall within the range of variation of those presented. Kinemes like phonemes, are largely unconscious as separate entities to the people who perform them. Though I have purported them to be significant to the people themselves, it is I, not they, that have abstracted them into a formal system. If a Tongan were given a kineme chart (or a phoneme chart) he would have to be convinced that it represents what happens when he dances (or speaks), because the kinemes individually (or phonemes individually) have no meaning.

535 121 In this Chapter a further analogy will be drawn between the structure of dance and the structure of language. As the material presented in the last Chapter was compared to a phonemic description of a language, the material presented in this Chapter purports to be comparable to a morphemic description of a language. The unit of movement comparable to a morpheme will here be termed a morphokine, meaning the 'form, shape, or structure of movement.' Morphokine can be defined as 'the smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of the movement system.' This does not imply that morphokines must

535 121 have narrative meaning (although they sometimes do), but only that they are recognized as dance movements. These units cannot be divided without changing or destroying their 'meaning.' Morphokines can be examined in a way analogous to morphemes, that is, with regard to their internal structure and their external distribution.

Morphokines are sequences of kinemes and only certain combinations are meaningful. These combinations of kinemes often recur. They are recognized by the Tongans and some are given names and can be grouped in categories. A unique selection and arrangement of kinemes can be said to define a morphokine. Statements about morphokines must be made in terms of the kinemes which comprise them, just as statements about morphemes are made in terms of phonemes (Gleason 1955, p. 66).

It should be noted that in Tongan dance the kinemes and morphokines are never minutely specific so that at the etic level they may not be identical. For example, if I say that the palm is facing up, I do not mean that it must do so exactly, for there may be a slight tilt in any direction. In Tongan dance the wrists are always flexible and follow comfortable natural movements of the hands. The so-called graceful look of Tongan dance is due to this flexibility of the wrists.

The morphokines of Tongan dance will be analyzed with regard to their internal structure (that is, their kineme composition--the kinemes used and their sequence) and grouped into classes. The external distribution--that is, the co-occurrence of morphokines will also be examined.

● 535 The first objective in identifying language morphemes is "to
121 *segment* the corpus--that is, to divide it into portions, each of
which represents a single morpheme; and to *class* these segments
together into morphemes" (Gleason 1955, p. 65). In this study of
Tongan dance, segmenting and classing of the raw data proceeded
535 simultaneously. The results are listed below. Doubtless there are
121 other ways in which the data could be grouped. The classes presented,
128 however, seem most economic and systematic, and are able to account
for all the data. No doubt there are morphokines that are not included
in my corpus, but I feel quite certain that they will fit into the
class system devised.

535 INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MORPHOKINES

By the internal structure of morphokines I mean the sequence of kinemes that make up a recognized movement. Some kinemes are motions (e.g. rotation of lower arm); others are basically positions with the motion of getting from one position to another understood. Morphokines, as here described, combine kinemes--whether position or motion into flowing movements that have a definite beginning and end. A morphokine may consist of a single kineme, a kineme repeated one or more times, or a combination of kinemes. Morphokines will be abbreviated 'M'. When a morphokine consists of a single kineme, its kineme designation will be used to avoid unnecessary duplication.

The movements deriving from the three sections of the body significant in Tongan dance can be considered at the highest level

535 of abstraction as classes of morphokines and they will here be treated
535 one by one. Morphokines of the hands and arms will be abbreviated
128 M.I. Morphokines of the legs will be abbreviated M.II. Morphokines of the head will be abbreviated M.III. Morphokines not classifiable in any of these groups will be abbreviated M.IV.

535 Arm and Hand Morphokines, M.I.

The morphokines of the arms and hands, M.I., can be divided into three groups or categories:

a. *Mima* (hand and lower arm) morphokines which can be performed in two or more arm position 'environments.' These will be abbreviated M.I.a.

b. Arm position 'environments' in which morphokines of category M.I.a. are performed. These will be abbreviated M.I.b.

c. Morphokines in which the arm position environment is integrally related. These will be abbreviated M.I.c.

The morphokines of group M.I.a. will be described first. The first morphokine of this group will be abbreviated M.I.a.l. The second morphokine will be M.I.a.2., and so on. Although these morphokines are made up of kinemes, it is not possible to say of a morphokine that it equals the total of the kinemes used in that morphokine, because not only the kinemes must be taken into consideration but also the sequence of the kinemes. Thus, a full description

535 of a morphokine (for example, M.I.a.1.) must include the sequence of kinemes listed for it in this Chapter.

Morphokines of the *nima* (hand and lower arm), group M.I.a.

M.I.a.1. is the most common and characteristic morphokine in Tongan dance, and co-occurs in any environment from M.I.b.1. through M.I.b.16. M.I.a.1. constitutes the essential movement of what is called '*haka*' or hand movements. It is a combination of three kinemes: rotation of the lower arm, R_1, and two finger kinemes, F_1 and F_3. These kinemes are always the same no matter in what 'environment' they occur. The environment consists of the arm position and the direction in which the palm is facing and constitutes a separate set of morphokines, M.I.b. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) from kineme F_1 fingers begin to flex or bend (this flexion starts with the little finger; and the index finger is last to bend and does not bend as far),
2) when fingers are almost to kineme F_3 the lower arm begins to rotate, R_1, while fingers complete their flexion to F_3,
3) immediately upon finishing the lower arm rotation (so that the palm faces the opposite direction from which it began), fingers open to F_1,
4) after the completion of 3 in the sequence above, the lower arm rotates in the opposite direction bringing the palm facing back to the position in which it began.

This brings the nima back to the position from which it started and it is ready to repeat the whole morphokine. Rhythmically, this morphokine usually begins on an upbeat so that 3 above falls on the beat. In Labanotation:

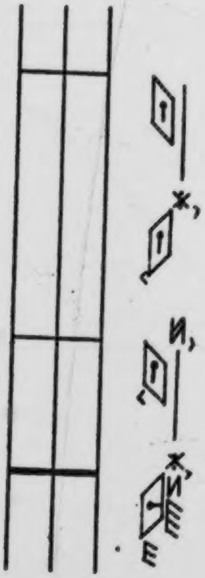


Figure 5.1. Morphokine M.I.a.1.

M.I.a.2. is similar to M.I.a.1., but is not so frequently used. It differs in that the wrist bends instead of the fingers. It co-occurs with M.I.b.10., M.I.b.11., M.I.b.16., M.I.a.26., and M.I.a.27. The sequence of kinemes is:

535 1) with palm facing P_2, wrist begins to flex,

2) when wrist is partially flexed, lower arm begins to rotate, R_1, and wrist completes its flexion to W_2,

3) immediately after the lower arm finishes rotating, wrist extends to W_1 and palm faces the opposite direction from which it began.

During this movement the fingers may bend slightly following the natural movement of the wrist. Since it is insignificant to the Tongans whether the fingers bend slightly or not, it is not emic and therefore is not notated. Note that the palm position is included in the description of this morphokine (although it was not in that of morphokine M.I.a.1.) for here it always faces backward at the beginning of the morphokine and forward at the end (whereas in M.I.a.1. it changes with the arm position).

In Labanotation:

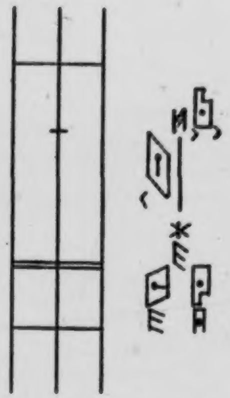


Figure 5.2. Morphokine M.I.a.2.

Note the contrast between the two movements. The differences are that in M.I.a.2. wrist kinemes have replaced finger kinemes, and the *nima* does not return to the starting position in order to begin again as did M.I.a.1. Rather, this morphokine combines with other morphokines to form motifs at the next higher level of organization.

M.I.a.3., circling the hands around each other, is another important movement in Tongan dance and is used in several motifs. M.I.a.3. is a three-quarter circle of the right hand around the left hand, and co-occurs with M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) hands with fingers in a slightly flexed position, F_2, palms face each other, the left palm facing the chest, P_2, and right palm facing forward, P_1,
2) right hand circles over, in front of, and under the left hand with a rotation of the lower arm, R_1. ('Front' in this paper will always be taken from the point of view of the whole body not the individual body part.)

In Labanotation:

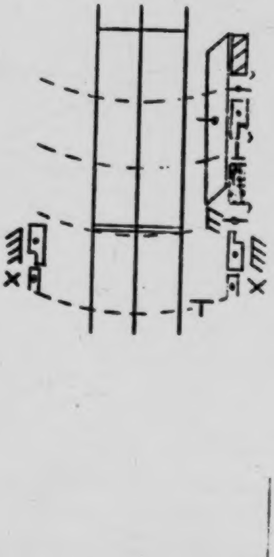


Figure 5.3. Morphokine M.I.a.3.

● 535 M.I.a.4. is the reverse of M.I.a.3. and is a movement called __au__. Its usual environment is M.I.b.18. with the sequence of movements reversed. It may also co-occur with M.I.b.17. and M.I.b.19. with the sequence of movements reversed. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with right hand below left and fingers in F_2, right palm faces up, P_3, while left palm faces backwards, P_2,
2) right hand circles in front of, over and behind the left with a rotation of the lower arm, R_1, bringing the right palm facing to P_1.

In Labanotation:

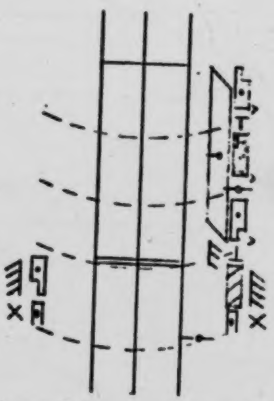


Figure 5.4. Morphokine M.I.a.4.

In M.I.a.3. and M.I.a.4. the pins '⫰', '⫯', '⊤', and '⊥', show the relation of the hands to each other. 'In front of' is designated by '⊥'; '⊤' designates 'in back of'; '⫯' designates 'on top of'; and '⫰' designates 'below'.

M.I.a.5. is similar to M.I.a.3. but differs in that both palms face the chest (thus it is not necessary to rotate the lower arm to get the hands to the new position) and the fingers are not flexed. It co-occurs with A_{10} and A_{11} which function as M.I.b. morphokines in this level of analysis. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_2, palms face the chest, with right hand in back of (that is, closer to the chest) left hand,
2) right hand circles over and in front of left hand, bringing left hand closer to chest (the left hand also moves slightly but the emphasis is on the movement of the right hand).

In Labanotation:

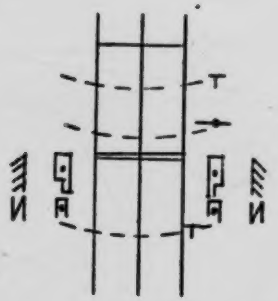


Figure 5.5. Morphokine M.I.a.5.

M.I.a.6. is the same as M.I.a.5. except that the fingers are fully flexed to form a fist. It co-occurs with A_{10} and A_{11} which function as M.I.b. morphokines. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in kineme F_4, palms face the chest with right hand in back of (that is, closer to the chest) left hand,
2) right fist circles over and in front of left fist, bringing left fist closer to the chest (left fist also moves slightly but the emphasis is on the movement of right fist).

In Labanotation:

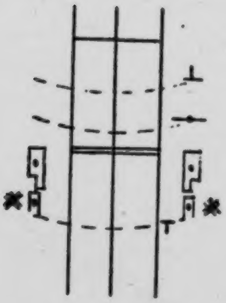


Figure 5.6. Morphokine M.I.a.6.

M.I.a.7. is a circling of the hands around each other with palms facing forward, and is sometimes called *teki*. It co-occurs with A_{14} facing forward or with the rotation of the torso, M.IV.2. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_2 and both palms facing forward, arms form a circle with left hand above right,
2) right hand circles behind left hand until right hand is above left hand and fingers extend to F_1 (usually on the beat),
3) fingers relax to F_2 and left hand circles behind right hand until left hand is above right hand and fingers extend to F_1.

In Labanotation:

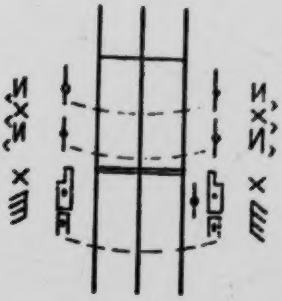


Figure 5.7. Morphokine M.I.a.7.

535 M.I.a.8. is called ha'otā. It begins in the same way as M.I.a.3. and co-occurs with M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., or M.I.b.19. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_2, palms face each other, left palm facing the chest, P_2, right palm facing forward, P_1 (in actual performance the palms do not really face each other squarely at the beginning, but the right palm is nearly above the left),
2) right hand circles over, and in front of left with a rotation of the lower arm, R_1 (this results in both palms facing the chest, P_2, left hand closer to the body and right hand directly in front of it),
3) hands are pulled away from each other by flexing the wrists and slightly opening the arms to the side.

In Labanotation:

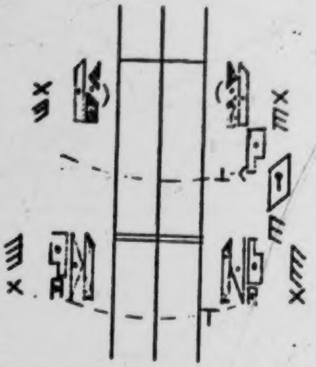


Figure 5.8. Morphokine M.I.a.8.

Note that in M.I.a.8. arm positions were included in the Labanotation although they are not part of the morphokine, because it is impossible to convey an idea of M.I.a.8. without including an arm position. This will also be necessary in several of the succeeding morphokines.

M.I.a.9. is similar to M.I.a.8. except that when the hands pull away from each other palms face forward. This is accomplished by adding another rotation of the lower arm, R_1. M.I.a.9. is performed in M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., or M.I.b.19. with the addition of a forward palm facing, P_1. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_2 palms face each other, left palm facing the chest, P_2, right palm facing forward, P_1 (in actual performance the palms do not really face each other squarely at the beginning, but the right palm is nearly above the left),
2) right hand circles, over, and in front of left with a rotation of the lower arm, R_1 (this results in both palms facing the chest, P_2, left hand closer to the body and right hand directly in front of it),
3) both lower arms rotate, R_1, so that palms face forward, P_1, and wrists extend to W_1,
4) hands are pulled away from each other by slightly opening the lower arms to the sides.

535 In Labanotation:

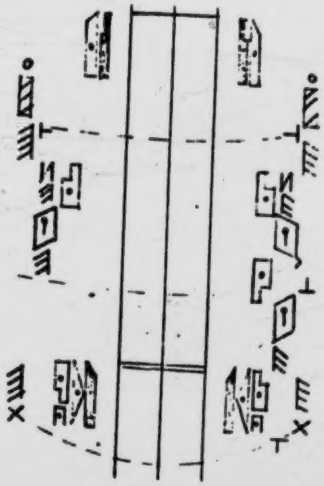


Figure 5.9. Morphokine M.I.a.9.

Both M.I.a.9. and M.I.a.8. have the same duration, so the rapid lower arm rotation and quick wrist flexion makes M.I.a.9. look less graceful than M.I.a.8. Sometimes M.I.a.9. will be performed by men while women are performing M.I.a.8. giving the men's movement a more forceful character. Women also do M.I.a.9. in the dance types *tafi*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, and *tau'olunga*. In *tafi* and *ma'ulu'ulu* men and women do the same movements, and in *tau'olunga* all movements may be done by both sexes.

535 M.I.a.10. begins the same as M.I.a.3. and M.I.a.8. and is called kako. In M.I.a.10. the right hand completes a full circle around the left hand (or the left hand around the right hand) with the right palm always facing the left hand. This is accomplished by lower arm rotation and flexion and extension of the wrist. It co-occurs with A_9 or A_{12} which function as M.I.b. morphokines. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_2, palms face each other to the sides, P_5; left lower arm is vertical, for example in A_9,
2) right hand with fingers leading circles around left hand by rotation of the lower arm, R_1,
3) the circle is completed as right wrist extends backward, W_1, and right arm drops (during 2 and 3 the left wrist is bent forward to accomodate the circling of the right hand),
4) right palm which now faces left lower arm, continues past the arm to the open space formed by the 45° angle of the vertical left lower arm,
5) immediately on reaching the open space, fingers of both hands extend to F_1 with an accent.

In Labanotation:

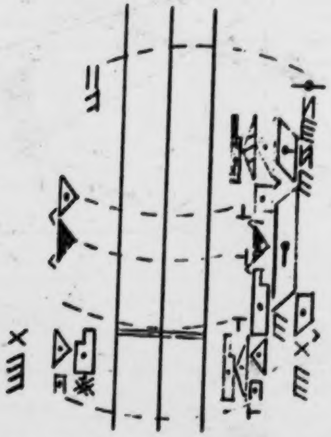


Figure 5.10. Morphokine M.I.a.10.

M.I.a.11. is similar to M.I.a.10. except that the right arm makes only a three-quarter circle so that when the fingers extend the left arm is closer to the chest than the right. It co-occurs with A_9 or A_{12}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_2, palms face each other to the sides, P_5; left lower arm is vertical, for example in A_9,
2) with fingers leading, right hand circles around the left hand with a rotation of the lower arm, R_1, until the left hand is closer to the body,
3) right wrist extends backward, W_1, and right arm drops down,
4) as the arm drops down the right hand is in front and to the left of the left lower arm,

5) immediately on reaching this position, fingers of both hands extend to F_1 with an accent.

In Labanotation:

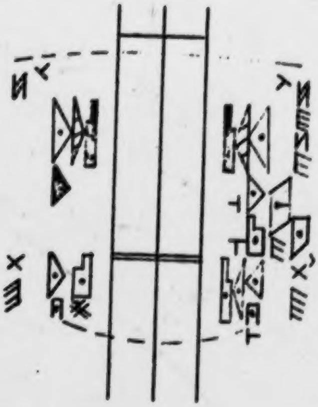


Figure 5.11. Morphokine M.I.a.11.

M.I.a.12. is similar to M.I.a.10. except that fingers are fully bent to form a fist, F_4. It co-occurs with A_9 or A_{12}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_4, palms face each other to the sides, P_5; left lower arm is vertical, for example in A_9,
2) right fist circles around left fist with a rotation of the lower arm, R_1,

535 3) the circle is completed by the right fist, which now has its back to left palm, continuing past the arm to the open space formed by the 45° angle of the vertical left lower arm,

4) right wrist extends backward, W_1, right arm drops down, and left wrist extends backward, W_1,

5-8) 1 to 4 in the sequence above are reversed--that is, 4,3,2,1,--so that right hand circles left hand in the opposite direction.

In Labanotation:

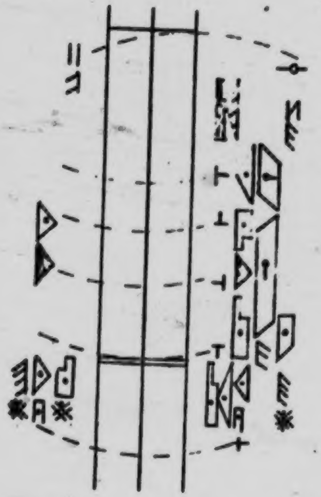


Figure 5.12. Morphokine M.I.a.12.

M.I.a.13. usually follows after an upbeat identical to the upbeat in M.I.a.1. or follows after M.I.a.1. It co-occurs with M.I.b.20., M.I.b.21., or A_9. This morphokine is the essence of a motif called toli and has the narrative meaning of 'to pick.' The sequence of kinemes is:

1) starting from a relaxed or normal position the wrist bends forward, W_2, and fingers extend to F_7,

2) the wrist, with a definite pulse, extends to W_1, and fingers flex to F_3.

In Labanotation:

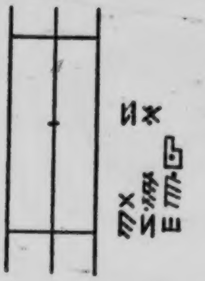


Figure 5.13. Morphokine M.I.a.13.

M.I.a.14. uses the same wrist movement as M.I.a.13. but the fists are clenched. It is usually performed with both hands at the same time, one on top of the other, co-occurring with A_{10} and A_{11}, or half way between as arms alternate between A_{10} and A_{11}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_4 the wrist bends to W_2,

2) wrist then extends to a fully extended position, W_1.

In Labanotation:

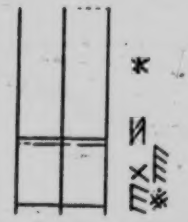


Figure 5.14. Morphokine M.I.a.14.

M.I.a.15. consists of moving the lower arms in opposition to each other. It usually co-occurs with M.I.b.22. or M.I.b.24. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers extended in F_1 palms face opposite directions (either P_1 and P_2, or P_3 and P_4); arms are moved in the directions of the palm facings,

2) lower arms rotate, R_1, so that palms face in opposite directions from where they started,

3) arms are moved in the directions of palm facings.

In Labanotation:

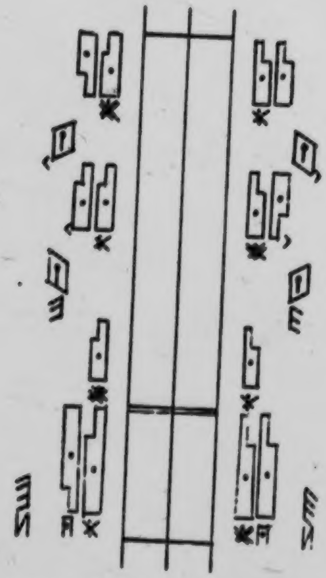


Figure 5.15. Morphokine M.I.a.15.

535 M.I.a.16. is similar to M.I.a.15. except that the hands move slightly from side to side and together rather than in opposition to each other. It usually co-occurs with A_{10}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right palm faces up, P_3, left palm faces down, P_4, fingers are in a slightly bent position, F_2,
2) lower arms rotate and move to the left, fingers extend to F_1,
3) lower arms rotate, R_1, and fingers relax to F_2,
4) lower arms move to the right, fingers extend to F_1.

In Labanotation:

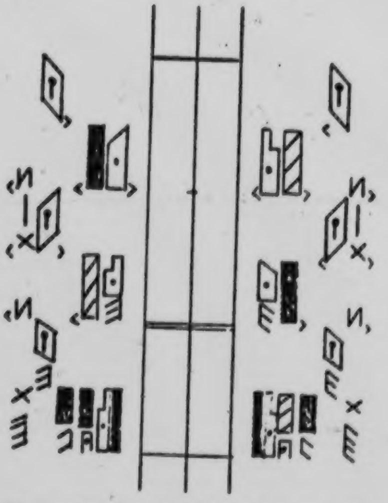


Figure 5.16. Morphokine M.I.a.16.

M.I.a.17. is similar to M.I.a.15. except that the hands both face forward. It usually co-occurs with M.I.b.23. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_1, both palms facing forward, right lower arm moves forward and left lower arm backward,

2) left lower arm moves forward and right lower arm backward.

In Labanotation:

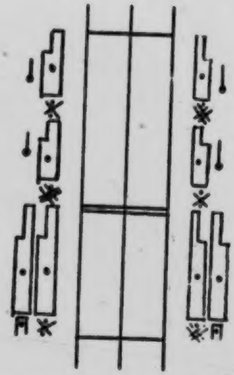


Figure 5.17. Morphokine M.I.a.17.

535 M.I.a.18. is the essence of a motif called tui and involves rubbing or brushing the backs of the hands together and rotation of the lower arms. It co-occurs with M.I.b.30. or M.I.b.31. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_1 and palms facing in opposite directions (for example, left hand facing backward and right hand facing forward), the backs of the hands are brushed together, T_2, by moving one upward (or forward) and the other hand downward (or backward),
2) both lower arms rotate, R_1, so that the palms are facing in the opposite direction from which they started and the backs of the hands touch each other,
3) backs of the hands brush together, T_2, by moving one hand forward (the opposite one that moved forward previously) or up and the other hand backward or down.

In Labanotation:

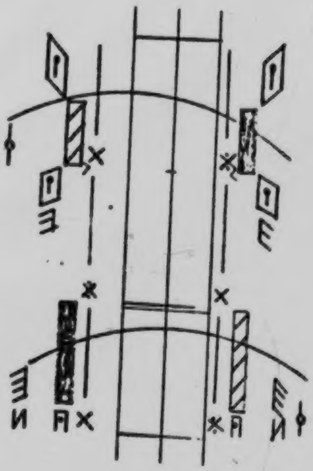


Figure 5.18. Morphokine M.I.a.18.

535 M.I.a.19. is a combination of M.I.a.1. and M.I.a.18. M.I.a.19. differs from M.I.a.18. in that the palms both face in the same direction at the same time and the fingers curl as the lower arms rotate as in M.I.a.1. It co-occurs with M.I.b.30. with the change of palms both facing up or down at the same time. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with palms facing upward, P_3, and arms crossed right over left at wrist, the fingers from position F_1 begin to bend,
2) when the fingers are almost to F_3, lower arm begins to rotate, R_1, and fingers complete their flexion to F_3,
3) immediately upon finishing the lower arm rotation, the fingers open to F_1, and palms face down, P_4,
4) right arm moves forward and left arm moves backward brushing little fingers, T_2,
5) lower arm rotates in the opposite direction, R_1, bringing palm facings back to the position in which they began, P_3, this time with left hand on top of right, and fingers from F_1 begin to flex in preparation for a repeat of the movement.

M.I.a.19. stands in the same relation to M.I.a.18. as M.I.a.9. stands in relation to M.I.a.8.—that is, both pairs differ from each other in that the essence of M.I.a.1. is added to the basic movement.

●535 In Labanotation:

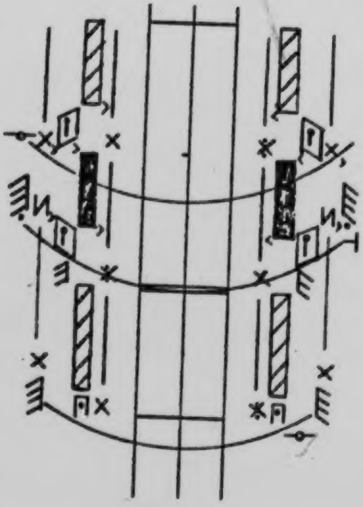


Figure 5.19. Morphokine M.I.a.19.

535 M.I.a.20. derives its character from the extension and flexion of the wrist. It usually co-occurs with M.I.b.29. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) starting from a relaxed or normal position for the wrist and fingers in F_7,

2) wrist bends forward, W_2, fingers flex to F_8,

3) wrist extends backward to W_1, fingers extend to F_7.

In Labanotation:

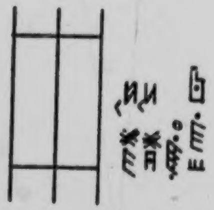


Figure 5.20. Morphokine M.I.a.20.

535 M.I.a.21. combines the wrist flexion of M.I.a.20. with finger positions F_1 and F_2. When this movement is performed with both hands in M.I.b.28. it is sometimes called tene. The movement is also performed with one hand alone in arm position A_{14}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_1 and wrist in normal position,
2) fingers flex to F_2 (actually this is a flexion of the palm) and wrist extends slightly to W_1,
3) fingers extend to F_1 (by an extension of the palm) and wrist returns to normal.

In Labanotation:

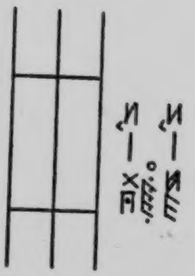


Figure 5.21. Morphokine M.I.a.21.

535 M.I.a.22. is a half rotation of either lower arm with the fist clenched. It is usually performed in A_{12} or A_{13}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in F_4, palm faces forward, P_1,
2) lower arm rotates quickly one half turn clockwise (for the right arm), which inverts the palm facing to P_2.

In Labanotation:

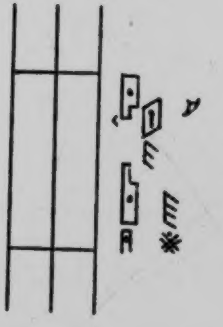


Figure 5.22. Morphokine M.I.a.22.

M.I.a.23. is a half rotation of the lower arm in the opposite direction from M.I.a.22. with the fingers extended. It is usually performed in A_8 or A_{15}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers extended in F_1, palm facing backward, P_2,
2) lower arm rotates with an accent.

In Labanotation:

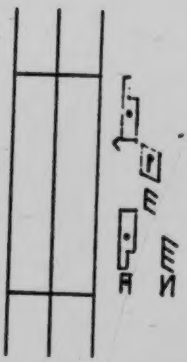


Figure 5.23. Morphokine M.I.a.23.

535 M.I.a.24. is a side movement of the arm with the elbow leading. It co-occurs with A_{11} or A_{14}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers are fully flexed, F_4, palm faces down, P_4 (arm in A_{14} for example),
2) elbow extends with an accent by a quick side arm extension.

In Labanotation:

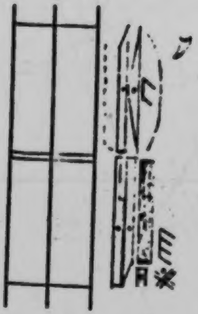


Figure 5.24. Morphokine M.I.a.24.

M.I.a.25. is a snapping of the fingers. This is called fisipa in Tongan. While the fingers are snapping, T_2, the lower arm is usually rotated, R_1. It usually co-occurs with A_8 or A_9.

In Labanotation:

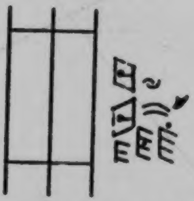


Figure 5.25. Morphokine M.I.a.25.

M.I.a.26. is a morphokine in which the hands brush each other. It usually occurs moving either forward or backward from A_{10}-A_{11}, or half-way between as arms alternate between A_{10} and A_{11}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in F_1, palms face each other to the sides, P_5,
2) hands brush together, T_2, starting with the fingertips of the right hand at the leel of the left hand, and ending with the fingertips of the left hand at the heel of the right hand.

In Labanotation:

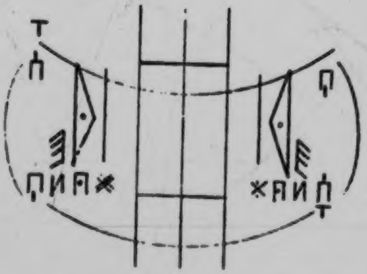


Figure 5.26. Morphokine M.I.a.26.

535 M.I.a.27. is similar to M.I.a.26. Here the little finger of one hand which begins facing P_2, brushes, T_2, the other palm which is in P_3, by moving to face P_5 and returns to P_2. The movement involved is an extension of the wrist, W_2, which changes the palm facing. It usually occurs in A_{10}-A_{11} or half way between as arms alternate between A_{10} and A_{11}.

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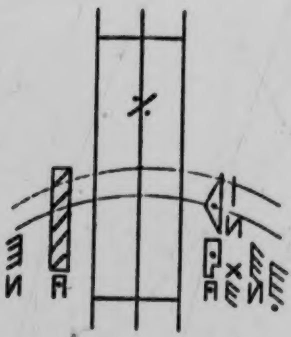

Figure 5.27. Morphokine M.I.a.27.

535 There are three types of clapping used in Tongan dance. They will be noted here as three separate morphokines, because each has a different 'meaning', which is mainly based on the sound made by the clap. Each can be performed in several different M.I.b. environments, its most usual one is A_{13}.

M.I.a.28. is a clap called __pasi__. The palms are flat and hit each other equally in a more or less vertical position. The sound made is a sharp one--that is, high pitched. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) in finger position F_1 and palm position P_5,
2) hands hit each other, T_1, with an accent.

In Labanotation:

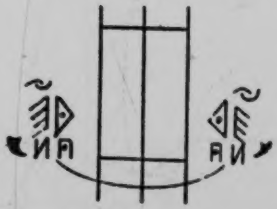

Figure 5.28. Morphokine M.I.a.28.

●535 M.I.a.28.a. is a variation of pasi, M.I.a.28., that opens the hands so the palms face forward. It usually co-occurs with A_{13}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in F_1, palms in P_5, hit each other, T_1,

2) hands open forward by rotating the lower arms, R_1, so that palms face forward.

In Labanotation:

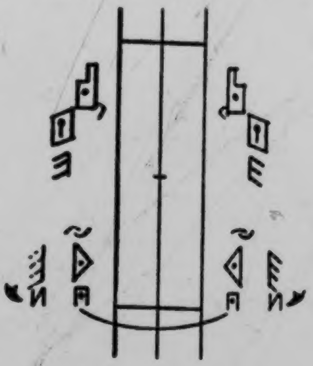

Figure 5.29. Morphokine M.I.a.28.a.

535 M.I.a.29. is a clap called *fu*. In this clap the hands hit each other diagonally and the fingers are slightly bent. The sound is a hollow one--that is, low pitched. It co-occurs with A_{13}, A_8-A_{12}, A_{10}-A_{11}, or M.I.b.25. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left palm faces backward, P_2, right hand faces forward, P_1, fingers in F_2,

2) hands hit each other, T_1, with an accent.

In Labanotation:

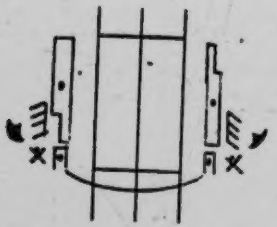

Figure 5.30. Morphokine M.I.a.29.

535 M.I.a.30. is a clapping movement in which the back of the hand hits the other open palm. It co-occurs with A_{13} or A_8-A_{12}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand in F_4, left in F_2, palms both face backward, P_2, right hand behind left (that is, closer to the chest),
2) back of right hand hits palm of left hand.

In Labanotation:

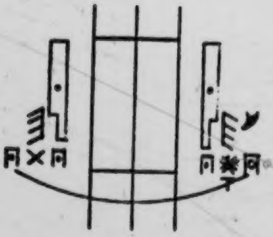

Figure 5.31. Morphokine M.I.a.30.

M.I.a.30.a. is a variation of M.I.a.30. I have seen it used in only one dance and it is performed in this way because of its context. In this variation the right hand is upside down from that in M.I.a.30. when it hits the left palm. This is because it is a very rapid movement and a surprise ending to a sitting dance. In the movement just previous to it the right palm hits the floor in front of the dancer. The right hand is picked up and M.I.a.30.a. is performed in A_3, and finally the index finger of the right hand is pointed forcefully at the audience. The variation is performed because the hand is already in the appropriate position and it is a movement that is not usual and thus fitting for a surprise ending. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in F_2, wrist of right hand is flexed downward, W_2,

2) back of right hand hits the palm of left hand with an accent.

In Labanotation:

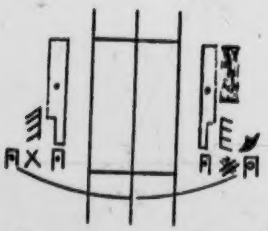

Figure 5.32. Morphokine M.I.a.30.a.

535 Morphokines of Group M.I.b.

The morphokines so far presented can be performed in a number of arm position 'environments.' The arm position was not part of the morphokine since the definition of a morphokine was that it could not be divided without changing or destroying the meaning. Thus, the arm positions constitute separate morphokines that co-occur with the morphokines of group M.I.a. The morphokine that can occur in the largest number of environments is M.I.a.l. which occurs with M.I.b.l. to M.I.b.16.

In group M.I.b. palm facing helps indicate position of the arm at the beginning and end of each movement and at the point within the morphokine where changes occur. Arm position, A, and palm facing, P, taken together define this group of morphokines, M.I.b. If only an arm position is required by a M.I.a. morphokine to complete a movement, a kineme notation can be used. In such case, however, the kineme functions in the same way as a M.I.b. morphokine.

This group of position morphokines is not equal in importance to group M.I.a. Perhaps we can liken the M.I.b. morphokines to the tone of voice in speech. This group of morphokines can also be compared to what is called 'analogous morphemes' in a morphemic speech analysis, which are derived "by separating various meaningful morphemes and leaving a small residue which can then be best handled as analogous morphemes" (Pike 1947, p. 242). Thus we can call group M.I.b.

analogous morphokines to convey the idea that they may not be meaningful in themselves.

Many morphokines of group M.I.b. alternate only palm facing while arm position remains the same. These constitute the usual environments of M.I.a.l. and together comprise the most important group of movements in Tongan dance. Others change both arm position and palm facing.

M.I.b.l. is arm extended forward in middle level, A_1; with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

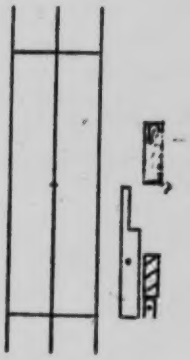

Figure 5.33. Morphokine M.I.b.l.

535 M.I.b.2. is arm extended forward between middle and high level, A_2; with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

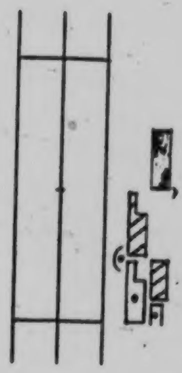

Figure 5.34. Morphokine M.I.b.2.

M.I.b.3. is arm forward in low level, A_3; with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

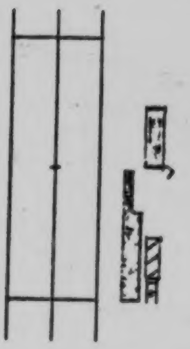

Figure 5.35. Morphokine M.I.b.3.

M.I.b.4. is arm in place low, A_4, that is, slightly bent at the side of the body; with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

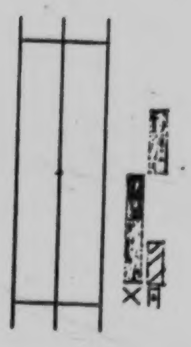

Figure 5.36. Morphokine M.I.b.4.

M.I.b.5. is arm in side middle, at shoulder level, A_5, with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

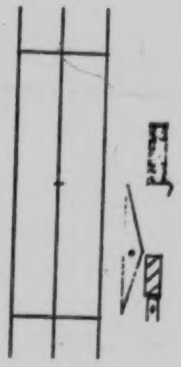

Figure 5.37. Morphokine M.I.b.5.

M.I.b.6. is arm in side high, raised from shoulder level, A_6; with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

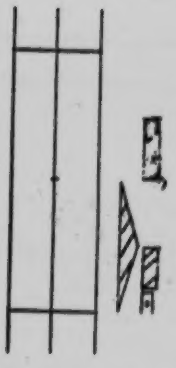

Figure 5.38. Morphokine M.I.b.6.

M.I.b.7. is arm in side low, A_7; with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

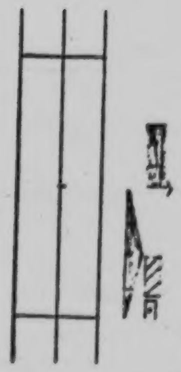

Figure 5.39. Morphokine M.I.b.7.

535 M.I.b.8. is arm bent forward at 90°, A_8; with palm facing alternating between backward, P_2, and forward, P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

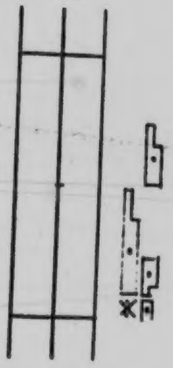

Figure 5.40. Morphokine M.I.b.8.

M.I.b.9. is arm bent forward so that the lower arm is almost vertical, A_9; with palm facing alternating between backward, P_2, and forward, P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

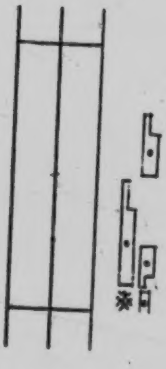

Figure 5.41. Morphokine M.I.b.9.

M.I.b.10. is arm bent at 90° with upper arm straight down and lower arm straight forward, A_{10}; with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It occurs with M.I.a.1. and M.I.a.2.

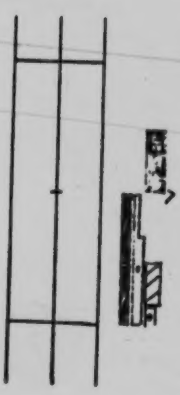

Figure 5.42. Morphokine M.I.b.10.

M.I.b.11. is arm bent with upper arm down and slightly forward and lower arm sideways at about waist level, A_{11}; with the palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1. or M.I.a.2.

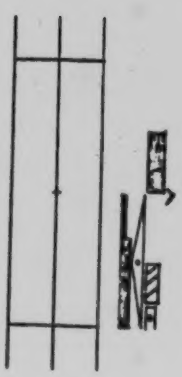

Figure 5.43. Morphokine M.I.b.11.

535 M.I.b.12. is arm bent with upper arm down and slightly forward and lower arm crossed diagonally across the chest, A_{12}; with the palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

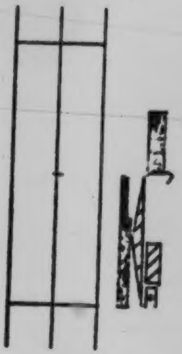

Figure 5.44. Morphokine M.I.b.12.

M.I.b.13. begins in A_{12} with palm facing backward, P_2; and moves to A_9 with palm facing forward, P_1. This can also be performed beginning in A_9-P_2 and ending in A_{12}-P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

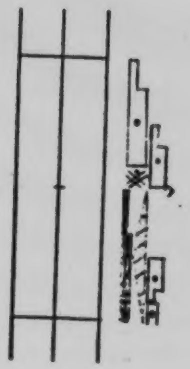

Figure 5.45. Morphokine M.I.b.13.

M.I.b.14. begins in A_{12} with palm facing backward, P_2; and moves through A_{15} with palm facing forward, P_1; and finally ends in A_9, the palm remaining forward. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

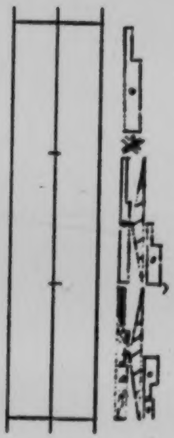

Figure 5.46. Morphokine M.I.b.14.

M.I.b.15. begins in A_{12} with palm facing backward, P_2; and moves to A_1, with palm facing forward, P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

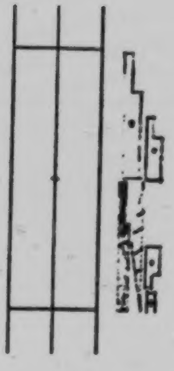

Figure 5.47. Morphokine M.I.b.15.

M.I.b.16. begins in A_9, with palm facing backward, P_2; and moves to A_1 with palm facing forward, P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1. or M.I.a.2.

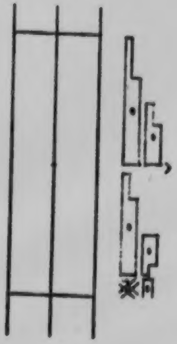

Figure 5.48. Morphokine M.I.b.16.

M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. are three environments used for a performance of M.I.a. morphokines in two or three positions--that is, left side, forward, or right side. There are a number of variants due to allo-kine variation. The variant given here in Labanotation is the one most commonly used because it is the usual environment of ha'otā, M.I.a.8. When the similar morphokine, M.I.a.9., is performed in the above environments, another change in palm facing is required for both lower arms.

M.I.b.17. is the environment for the left side of the body. The left arm is in A_{10} with palm facing sidewards. At the same time the right arm in A_{11} changes the palm facing from P_5 facing left to P_5 facing right. Following this, etically the right arm moves between two allo-kines of A_{11} (emically it does not move, the movement being that of the *nima*, M.I.a. morphokine). It co-occurs with M.I.a.8., M.I.a.3., M.I.a.4., or M.I.a.9. with an additional change of palm facing.

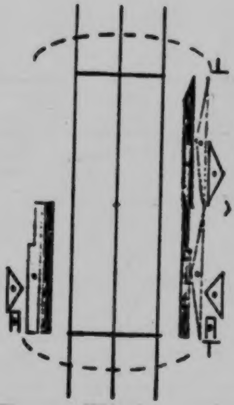

Figure 5.49. Morphokine M.I.b.17.

M.I.b.18. is the environment for performing in front of the body. Etically both arms move between two allo-kines of A_{11}. The left palm remains facing backward, P_2; while the right palm moves from forward, P_1, to backward, P_2. It co-occurs with M.I.a.8., M.I.a.3., M.I.a.4., or M.I.a.9. with an additional change of palm facing.

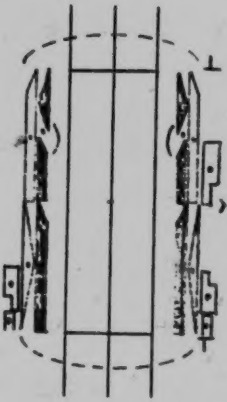

Figure 5.50. Morphokine M.I.b.18.

M.I.b.19. is the environment for performing on the right side of the body. The left arm is held in A_{11} with palm facing backward, P_2. Right arm in A_{10} changes the palm facing from forward, P_1, to backward, P_2. Etically the right arm moves between two allo-kines of A_{10}. It co-occurs with M.I.a.8., M.I.a.3., M.I.a.4., or M.I.a.9. with an additional change of palm facing.

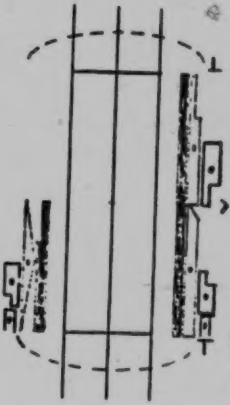

Figure 5.51. Morphokine M.I.b.19.

M.I.b.20. begins with arm in forward low, A_3; with palm facing changing from backward, P_2, to down, P_4. The arm then moves to side low, A_7; with palm facing changing from side, P_5, to down, P_4. (This can also be performed from A_7, P_5-P_4 to A_3, P_2-P_4.) It co-occurs with M.I.a.13.

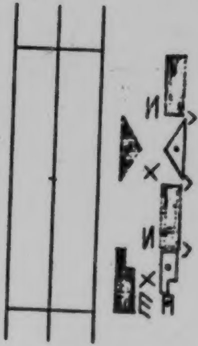

Figure 5.52. Morphokine M.I.b.20.

M.I.b.21. is arm extended forward in middle level, A_1; with palm facing alternating between down, P_4, and forward, P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.13.

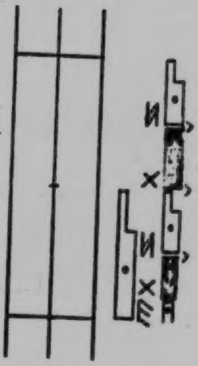

Figure 5.53. Morphokine M.I.b.21.

M.I.b.22. begins in A_9 and alternates between A_9 and A_8; with palm facing alternating between P_1 and P_2. It co-occurs with M.I.a.15.

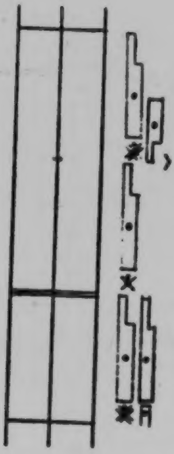

Figure 5.54. Morphokine M.I.b.22.

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M.I.b.23. alternates between arm positions A_8 and A_9; with palm facing remaining in P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.17.

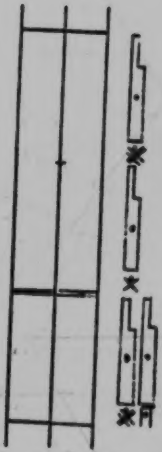

Figure 5.55. Morphokine M.I.b.23.

M.I.b.24. alternates between arm positions A_8 and A_{10}; with palm facing alternating between P_4 and P_3. It co-occurs with M.I.a.15.

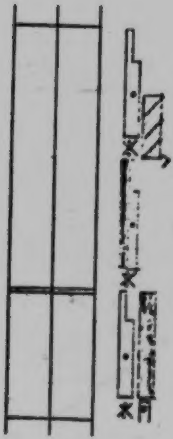

Figure 5.56. Morphokine M.I.b.24.

535 M.I.b.25. alternates the right palm facing between P_3 and P_4, while both arms remain in A_{13}. (This can also be performed alternating the palm facing between P_1 and P_2.) It co-occurs with M.I.a.29.

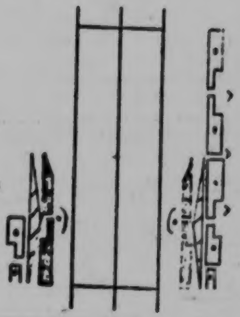

Figure 5.57. Morphokine M.I.b.25.

M.I.b.26. begins with arm in A_{11} and palm facing P_2 and moves to A_8 with palm facing P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.2.

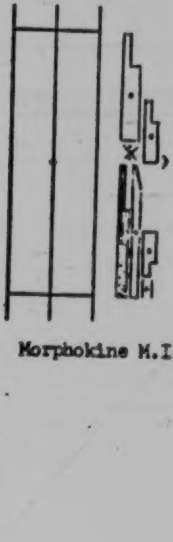

Figure 5.58. Morphokine M.I.b.26.

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M.I.b.27. begins with arm in A_9 with palm facing P_2 and moves to A_8 with palm facing P_1. It co-occurs with M.I.a.2.

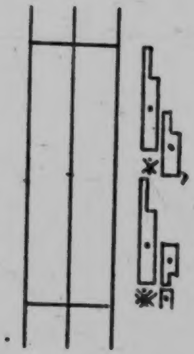


Figure 5.59. Morphokine M.I.b.27.

M.I.b.28. consists of one arm beginning in A_{10} with palm facing P_5 and moving to A_{11} with palm facing P_2; while the other arm, with palm facing P_4, moves from A_{11} to A_{10}. It co-occurs with M.I.a.21.

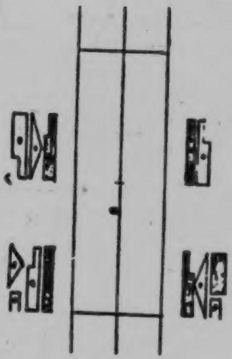


Figure 5.60. Morphokine M.I.b.28.

● 585 M.I.b.29. begins in A_9 with palm facing P_5 and moves to A_{12} with palm facing P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.20.

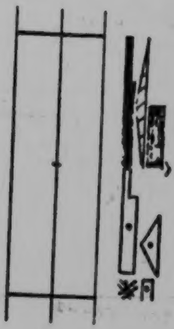


Figure 5.61 Morphokine M.I.b.29.

M.I.b.30. consists of one arm moving forward from A_{10} with palm facing P_3; while other arm beginning slightly forward from A_{10} moves to A_{10} with palm facing P_4; the palm facings are then inverted (by a rotation of the lower arm from the M.I.a. morphokine) and the movement is repeated symmetrically opposite. It co-occurs with M.I.a.18. It may also co-occur with M.I.a.19. in which case palms both face up or down at the same time.

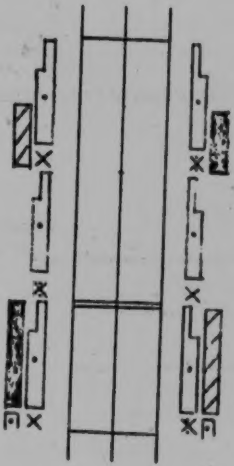


Figure 5.62. Morphokine M.I.b.30.

535 M.I.b.31. consists of one arm moving upward from A_{13} with palm facing P_2; while the other arm, beginning slightly higher than A_{13} moves to A_{13} with palm facing P_1; the palm facings are then inverted (by a rotation of the lower arm from the M.I.a. morphokine) and the movement is repeated symmetrically opposite. It co-occurs with M.I.a.18.

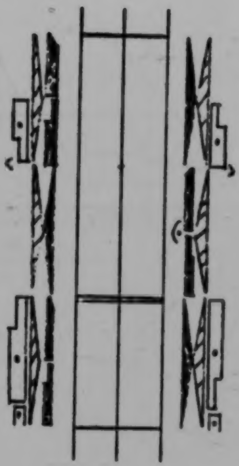


Figure 5.63. Morphokine M.I.b.31.

Morphokines of Group M.I.c.

The morphokines of group M.I.a. are movements that are used frequently and can be performed in a number of arm position environments which form group M.I.b. The M.I.c. group of morphokines includes the arm position environment as an integral part of the morphokine. This group includes some elements of the M.I.a. and M.I.b. morphokine groups. However, here they are joined in such a way that to separate them would destroy their meanings.

M.I.c.l. consists of the palm of one hand hitting the elbow end of the opposite lower arm. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand in F_2 and left hand in F_4, right arm in A_{11}, left arm in A_9,
2) palm of right hand hits, T_1, left lower arm at elbow end,
3) fingers of right hand close to F_4 and fingers of left hand open to F_2, right arm moves to A_9, left arm moves to A_{11},
4) palm of left hand hits, T_1, right lower arm at elbow end.

In Labanotation:

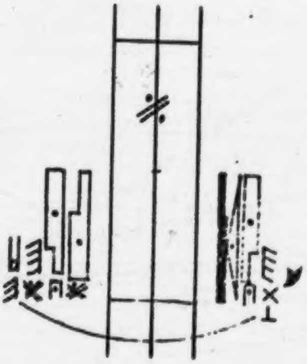


Figure 5.64. Morphokine M.I.c.l.

M.I.c.2. consists of touching the index finger to the inside of the opposite elbow. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers of both hans in F_6, palms in P_2, left arm in A_9, right arm in A_{11},
2) index finger of right hand touches, T_1, left elbow and left lower arm rotates, R_1, until palm faces P_1,
3) palm facing returns to P_2, with a rotation of lower arm, R_1,
4) fingers remain in F_6, palms again in P_2, right arm moves to A_9, left arm moves to A_{11},
5) index finger of left hand touches, T_1, right elbow and right lower arm rotates, until palm faces forward, P_1.

In Labanotation:

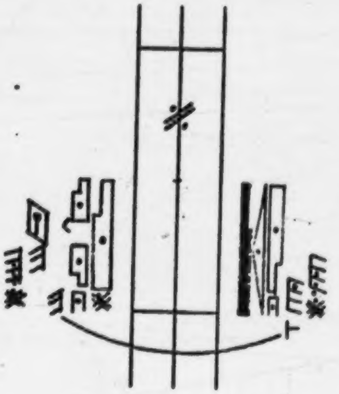


Figure 5.65. Morphokine M.I.c.2.

535 M.I.c.3. consists of the fingertips of one hand touching the other arm. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm extended, A_1, palms face down, P_4, fingers in F_1, right lower arm horizontal in front of chest, A_{14},
2) fingertips of right hand touch, T_1, inner side of left arm at elbow,
3) right arm extends to A_1, left arm flexes to A_{14}, palms face down, P_4, fingers in F_1,
4) fingertips of left hand touch, T_1, inner side of left arm at elbow.

In Labanotation:

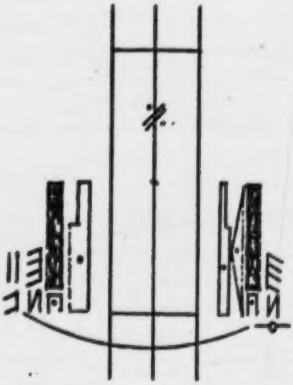


Figure 5.66. Morphokine M.I.c.3.

● 535 M.I.c.4. consists of touching the tips of the thumbs to the chest. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) tips of thumbs touch the chest, T_1, one above the other, with arms in A_{13} and fingers F_5,
2) hands alternate so that the second time the thumb tips touch the chest the other one is on top.

In Labanotation:

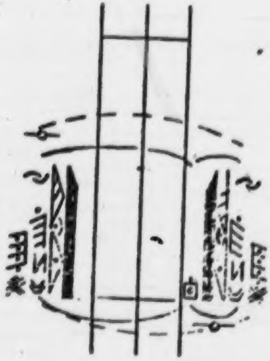
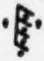


Figure 5.67. Morphokine M.I.c.4.

● 535 M.I.c.5. consists of touching the fingers of both hands to the chest one above the other. In this and the following touching morphokines '' will designate the first pad of the fingers. This touch may use two, three, or four fingers. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in F_1, palms face backward, P_2, arms in A_{13},
2) fingers are touched, T_1, to chest one hand above the other,
3) the hands remain in this position but move slightly up and down to keep time.

In Labanotation:

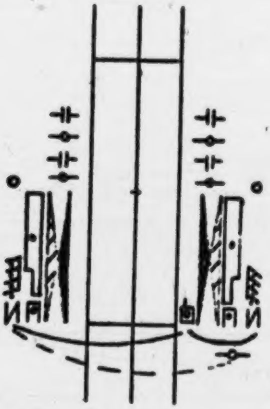


Figure 5.68. Morphokine M.I.c.5.

535 M.I.a.6. consists of touching the tip of the thumb to the chest. One thumb at a time touches first one side of the chest and then the other side. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right arm in A_{12}, fingers in F_5, thumb tip touches, T_1, the left side of the chest,

2) thumb tip then touches, T_1, the right side of the chest.

In Labanotation:

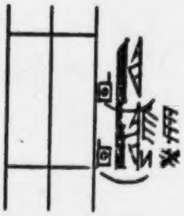


Figure 5.69. Morphokine M.I.c.6.

535 M.I.c.7. consists of touching the chest with the tip of one thumb while the other hand is on the hip. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right arm in A_{12}, fingers in F_5, thumb tip touches, T_1, the chest while left hand in A_{16}, touches, T_1, thumb tip to the left hip,
2) left arm moves to A_{12}, fingers in F_5, touch, T_1, thumb tip to the chest while right arm in A_{16}, touches, T_1, thumb tip to the right hip.

In Labanotation:

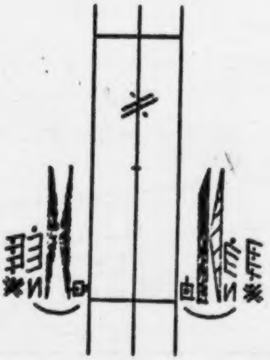


Figure 5.70. Morphokine M.I.c.7.

535 M.I.c.8. consists of touching the palm of one hand to the chest while the other arm is extended forward. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm is extended forward in A_1, palm faces down, P_4, and fingers in F_2; right arm in A_{13}, palm faces backward, P_2, fingers in F_1.
2) right palm touches chest while fingers of left hand extend to F_1 on the beat,
3-4) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

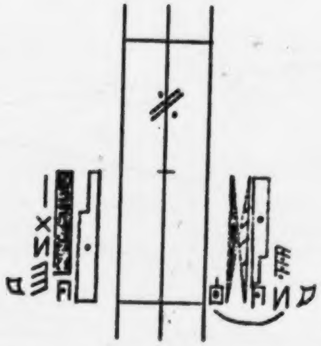


Figure 5.71. Morphokine M.I.c.8.

●535 M.I.c.9. is the same as M.I.c.8. except that the arm is extended to the side rather than forward. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm is extended to the side, A_5, palm faces forward, P_1, fingers in F_2; the right arm in A_{13}, palm facing backward, P_2, fingers in F_1,

2) fingers of right hand touch chest while fingers of left hand extend to F_1 on the beat,

3-4) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

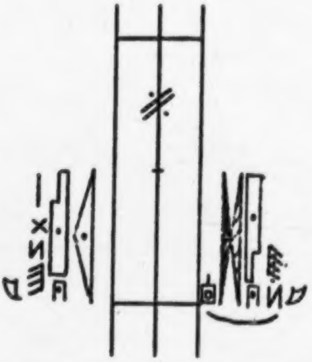


Figure 5.72. Morphokine M.I.c.9.

535 M.I.a.10. is similar to M.I.a.9. except the fingers are in a position so that the first finger and thumb are extended while the other three fingers are bent, F_6. As in M.I.c.9. the beat occurs at the time that the fingers touch the chest and the other arm is fully extended to the side. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) palm of one hand faces P_2, arm in A_{13}, fingers in F_6 touch, T_1, the chest; at the same time fingers of the other hand are in F_6, palm faces forward P_1, arm is extended to the side, A_5,
2) movement repeats symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

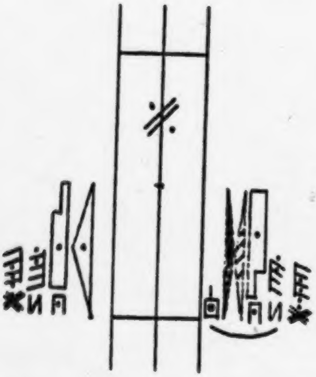


Figure 5.73. Morphokine M.I.c.10.

535 M.I.c.11. is similar to M.I.c.10. except that the arms circle instead of going directly from one side to the other. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right arm in A_5, left arm in A_{11}, fingers in F_6 point to the right side,

2) arms make a complete circle and come back to the original starting position.

In Labanotation:

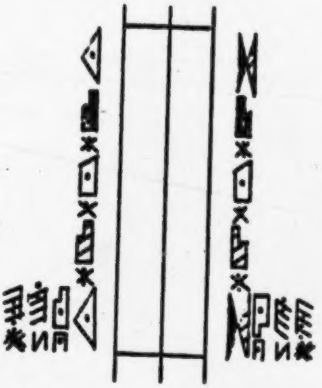


Figure 5.74. Morphokine M.I.c.11.

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535 M.I.c.12. points to the audience with the fingers of both hands, one slightly in front of the other. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers of both hands in F_6, palms face P_5, arms in A_{12}, so that one hand is slightly in front of the other,
2) point to the audience.

In Labanotation:

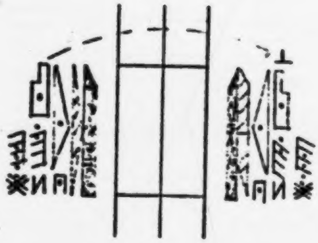


Figure 5.75. Morphokine M.I.c.12.

535 M.I.c.13. marks the beat with the index fingers while the remaining fingers are folded. The sequence of sinemes is:

1) both hands in F_6 interlock the three flexed fingers (this results in the last three fingers being folded and the index fingers and thumbs being extended),

2) the folded hands move to the front of left shoulder and move slightly forward to mark the beat,

3-4) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

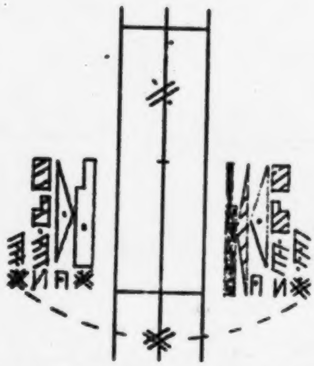


Figure 5.76. Morphokine M.I.c.13.

585 M.I.c.14. consists of extending one arm to the side and then bending it inward to touch the back of the other hand. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm in A_5, with palm facing forward, P_1; right arm is flexed in A_{12}; fingers of both hands in F_2 extend to F_1 on the beat,

2) left arm bends to A_{12}, palm facing forward, P_1, and touches, T_1, the back of right hand,

3-4) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

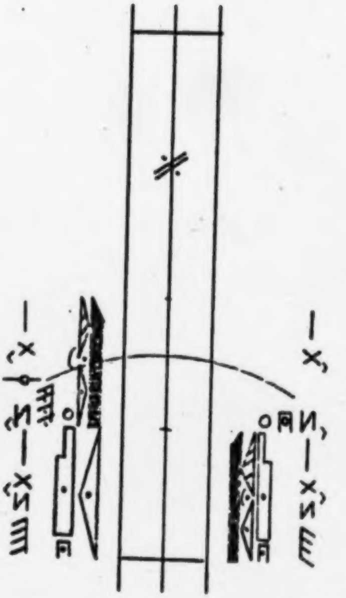


Figure 5.77. Morphokine M.I.c.14.

M.I.c.15. is a morphokine in which the arms extend from side to side. This movement often has the narrative meaning 'from here to there.' The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm in A_5, palm faces forward, P_1; right lower arm is horizontal at chest level, A_{14}, palm faces forward, P_1; fingers of both hands extend from F_2 to F_1 on the beat,
2) movement repeats symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

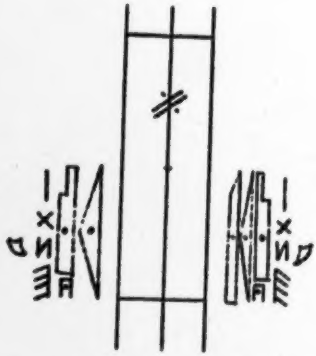


Figure 5.78. Morphokine M.I.c.15.

535 M.I.c.16. is the fingers of one hand alternating between touching the elbow and the back of the hand of the other *nima*. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left lower arm in vertical position, A_9, palm faces backward, P_2, fingers in F_2; right lower arm in horizontal position, A_{11}, palm facing backward, P_2, fingers in F_2,
2) fingers extend to F_1 and fingertips of right hand touch the left elbow,
3) left arm moves to A_{11}, lower arm rotates, R_1, palm faces down, P_4; right lower arm rotates, R_1, so palm faces down, P_4,
4) fingers of right hand touch the back of left hand,

5-8) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

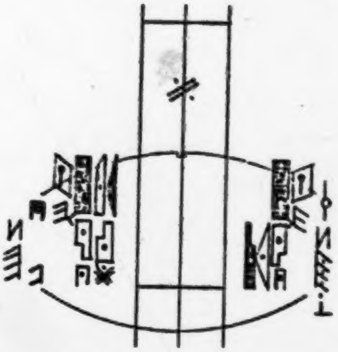


Figure 5.79. Morphokine M.I.c.16.

535 M.I.c.17. is a touching morphokine in which both lower arms rotate. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) arms in A_{11} are crossed in front of the waist, wrists are slightly flexed, W_2, palms face backward, P_2; second finger (big finger) of each hand touches, T_1, the underside of the lower arm about midway,

2) lower arms rotate, R_1; palms face forward, P_1 (the second fingers have not moved and thus are now on the upper side of the lower arm).

In Labanotation:

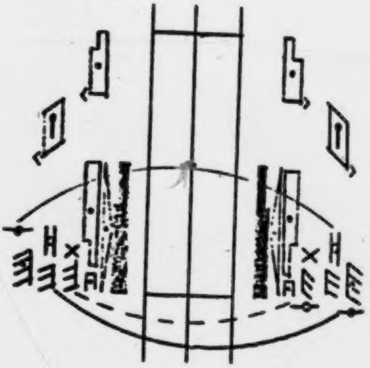


Figure 5.80. Morphokine M.I.c.17.

● 535 M.I.c.18. is arm in a forward low position, A_3, with palm facing down, P_4. While the arm is held this way the dancer walks in a circle.

In Labanotation:

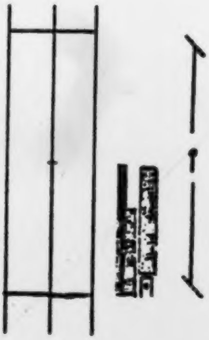


Figure 5.81. Morphokine M.I.c.18.

M.I.c.19. describes an arc with the hands. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) both arms in A_{15}, with palms facing forward, P_1, fingers in F_2,
2) arms move slightly to the left, down, right, and up, i.e. ◡ .

In Labanotation:

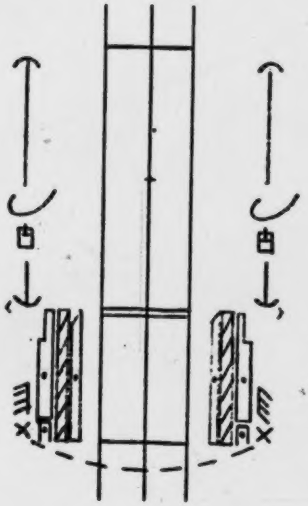


Figure 5.82. Morphokine M.I.c.19.

● 535 M.I.c.20. consists of moving the arms from side to side at waist level across the front of the body, ending with one palm perpendicular on top of the other. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right arm in A_{10} moves to A_{11} while palm facing changes from side, P_5, to back, P_2,
2) left arm in A_{10} moves to A_{11} while palm facing changes from side, P_5, to back, P_2; at the same time right arm moves back to A_{10},
3) left hand stops by resting perpendicularly (that is, on its edge) on top of right hand and at a right angle to it.

In Labanotation:

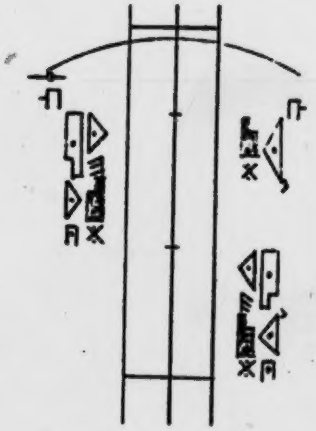


Figure 5.83. Morphokine M.I.c.20.

● 535 M.I.c.21. is called *palu* and is a stylization of squeezing kava with water while it is being prepared. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) palms, facing each other to the sides, P_5, are related quite close to each other, right slightly behind left, fingers in F_1,
2) right hand moves forward and left backward,
3) both wrists fully flex to W_2 until palms both face backward;
4) fingers flex to F_3,
5) fingers extend to F_1,
6) wrists move back to normal,
7-12) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

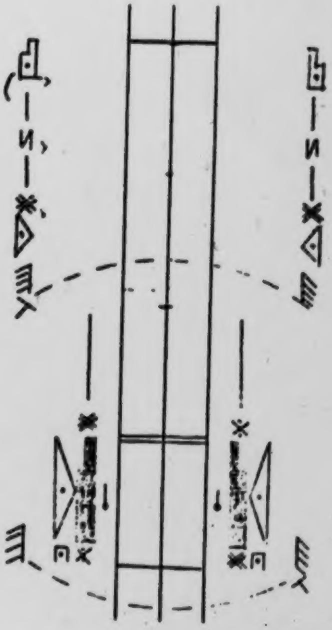


Figure 5.84. Morphokine M.I.c.21.

● 535 M.I.c.22. is a movement that depicts the arm motions used in the ceremonial mixing of kava. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) both arms begin in A_{14}, palms face forward, P_1,
2) right hand moves along outside of left arm from hand to elbow (not touching it),
3) back of right hand touches, T_1, the outside of left elbow, then by a rotation of the lower arm, R_1, it touches, T_1, the inner side of lower arm at elbow,
4) with palm now facing backward, P_2, the right hand moves along the inside of left arm and continues out to right side high, A_{15}, until palm faces to the left side, P_5,
5) lower arm rotates so the palm faces the opposite direction, i.e., to side right, P_5,
6) right hand returns along the same path (palm begins facing side right, and curves until it faces forward) to the inside of left arm as far as elbow,
7) right palm touches, T_1, inside of elbow, lower arm rotates, R_1, and right hand touches, T_1, inside of elbow with back of fingers,
8) right hand then moves along inside of left arm to just past the hand,
9) right lower arm rotates, R_1, so palm faces forward, P_1.

This brings the arms back to the starting position ready to begin a second time.

535 **In Labanotation:**

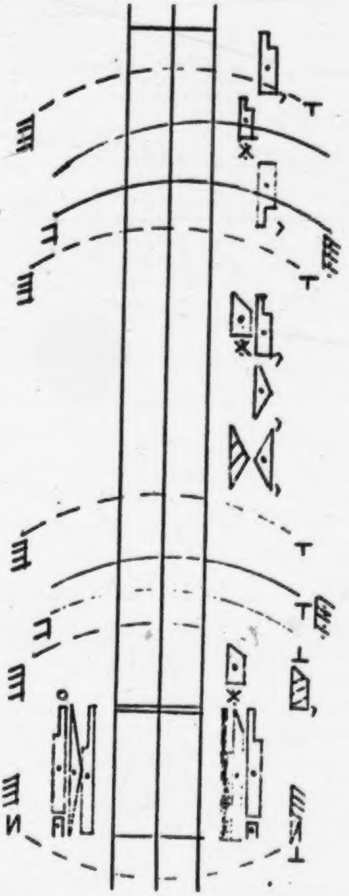


Figure 5.85. Morphokine K.I.c.22.

535 M.I.c.23. involves touching the head. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand, with arm bent upward from the side, A_{17}, touches, T_1, the top of the head; at the same time left arm extends to the left side, A_5, with palm facing up, P_4, fingers extend from F_2 to F_1 (finger extension of left occurs at the same time as right hand touches the head),
2) movement repeats symmetrically opposite,
3) right hand, with arm bent upward from the side, A_{17}, touches, T_1, the top of the head; at the same time left arm, extends forward, A_1, palm facing up, P_4, fingers extend from F_2 to F_1,
4) left hand remains in last position; right arm extends forward to A_1, and claps the left hand, T_1.

In Labanotation:

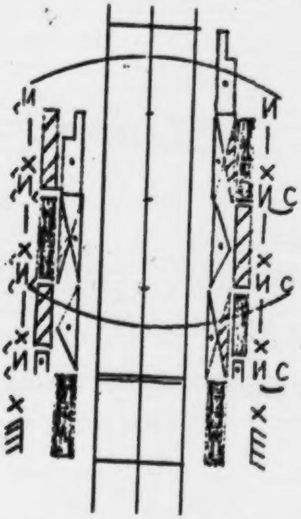


Figure 5.86. Morphokine M.I.c.23.

585

Leg Morphokines, M.II.

Morphokines in which the legs are used will be divided into two groups. The first group, which will be abbreviated M.II.a., uses only the legs. The second group, which will be abbreviated M.II.b., uses the legs and the hands together. In this case the hands hit or touch the legs.

Leg Morphokines of Group M.II.a.

The most common leg morphokine in Tongan dance is M.II.a.1. and consists of a side step and a touch in place. The foot is placed diagonally with the toe turned out during the side touches in place. This morphokine is performed by both men and women, however, women take quite small steps that barely leave the floor, while men take larger more forceful ones. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps side left, L_4,
2) right foot moves side left and touches in place, L_{10},
3) right foot steps side right, L_4,
4) left foot moves side right and touches in place, L_{10}.

In Labanotation:

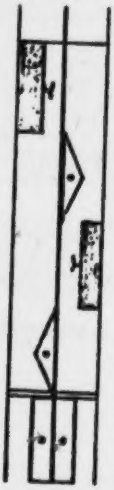


Figure 5.87. Morphokine M.II.a.1.

● 535 M.II.a.2. is similar to M.II.a.1. except that another side step is added. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps side left, S_4,
2) right foot steps side left to plase, L_3,
3) left foot steps side left, L_4,
4) right foot moves side left and touches in place, L_{10},
5) right foot steps side right, L_4,
6) left foot steps side right to place, L_3,
7) right foot steps side right, L_4,
8) left foot moves side right and touches in place, L_{10}.

In Labanotation:

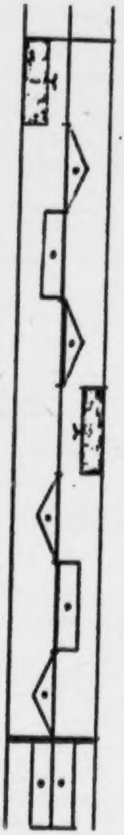


Figure 5.88. Morphokine M.II.a.2.

M.II.a.2.a. is a variant of M.II.a.2. and differs only in that the touch in place is in front of the opposite foot in M.II.a.2.a. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps side left, L_4,
2) right foot steps side left, to place, L_3,
3) left foot steps side left, L_4,
4) right foot crosses in front of left foot and touches the toe to the left and front of it, L_{10},
5) right foot steps side left, L_4,
6) left foot steps side right, to place, L_3,
7) right foot steps side left, L_4,
8) left foot crosses in front of right foot and touches the toe to the right and front of it, L_{10}.

In Labanotation:

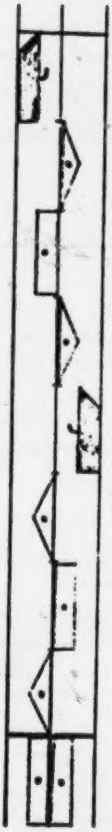


Figure 5.89. Morphokine M.II.a.2.a.

535 M.II.a.3. moves forward and back. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps forward, L_1,
2) right foot moves forward and touches in place, L_3,
3) right foot steps forward, L_1,
4) left foot moves forward and touches in place, L_3,
5) left foot steps backward, L_2,
6) right foot moves back and touches in place, L_3,
7) right foot steps backwards, L_2,
8) left foot moves back and touches in place, L_3.

In Labanotation:

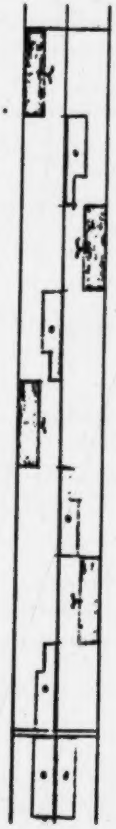


Figure 5.90. Morphokine M.II.a.3.

● 585 M.II.a.4. moves forward in consecutive steps. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps forward, L_1,
2) right foot steps forward, L_1,
3) left foot steps forward to place, L_3.

In Labanotation:

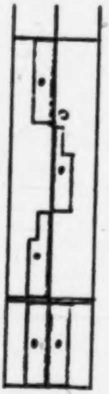


Figure 5.91. Morphokine M.II.a.4.

This may also be done with one forward step, L_1, and a second forward step to place, L_3. This variant will be designated M.II.a.4.a.

In Labanotation:

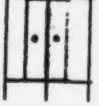


Figure 5.92. Morphokine M.II.a.4.a.

585 M.II.a.5. is a succession of backward steps. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps backward, L_2,
2) right foot steps backward, L_2,
3) left foot steps backward to place, L_3.

In Labanotation:

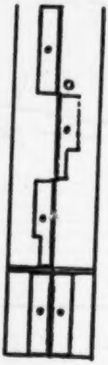


Figure 5.93. Morphokine M.II.a.5.

This may also be done with one backward step, L_2, and a second backward step to place, L_3. This variant will be designated M.II.a.5.a.

In Labanotation:

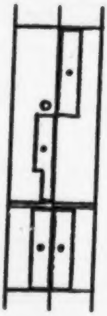


Figure 5.94. Morphokine M.II.a.5.a.

●535

M.II.a.6. is simply a stepping in place. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps in place, L_3,

2) right foot steps in place, L_3.

In Labanotation:

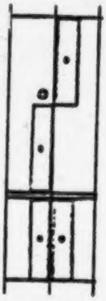


Figure 5.95. Morphokine M.II.a.6.

M.II.a.7. is a knee flexion that moves the body down and up. The only kineme involved is L_6.

In Labanotation:

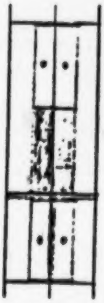


Figure 5.96. Morphokine M.II.a.7.

●595

M.II.a.8. consists of jumps with both feet forward, backward, sideward, or in place. The variations are the same as those of kineme L_5.

M.II.a.8.a. consists of a jump forward or a jump backward.

In Labanotation:

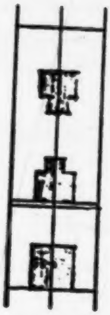
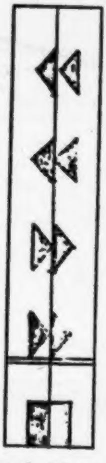


Figure 5.97. Morphokine M.II.a.8.a.

M.II.a.8.b. consists of side jumps. M.II.a.8.c. consists of a jump in place. In Labanotation:



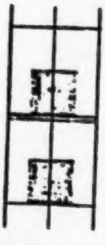


Figure 5.98. Morphokine M.II.a.8.b. Figure 5.99. Morphokine M.II.a.8.c.

535 M.II.a.9. consists of small steps while moving in a circle. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) body turns one-quarter turn left and left foot steps, L_7,

2) right foot steps in place, L_3, parallel to left foot,

3-etc.) 1 and 2 repeat until circle is completed.

In Labanotation:

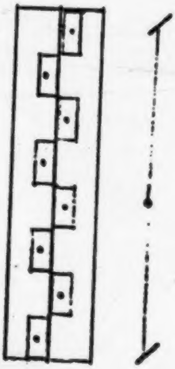


Figure 5.100. Morphokine M.II.a.9.

M.II.a.9.a. is a variant of M.II.a.9. In this case the circle is completed with only two steps with each foot.

In Labanotation:

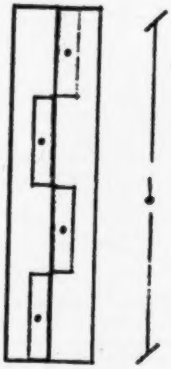


Figure 5.101. Morphokine M.II.a.9.a.

535 M.II.a.10. is used mainly to mark time when there are no other foot movements. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with feet in a position with toes slightly turned out, the heels move outward, L_8,
2) heels then move inward, L_8.

In Labanotation:

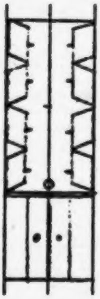


Figure 5.102. Morphokine M.II.a.10.

M.II.a.11. consists of a step and a quick flex of the knee, L_9. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps forward, L_1,
2) right knee flexes quickly, L_9,
3) right foot steps forward, L_1,
4) left knee flexes quickly, L_9.

In Labanotation:

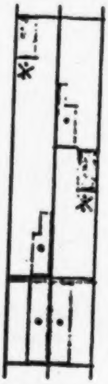


Figure 5.103. Morphokine M.II.a.11.

535 M.II.a.12. is a turn on one foot combined with a touch of the other. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) body turns one-quarter turn left and left foot steps slightly forward, L_7,
2) right foot touches in front of left foot and parallel to it, L_{10},
3) right foot touches to the right side of the left at 90° angle to it, L_{10},
4) body turns one-half turn right and right foot steps slightly forward, L_7,
5) left foot touches in front of right foot and parallel to it, L_{10},
6) right foot touches to the right side, L_{10}.

In Labanotation:

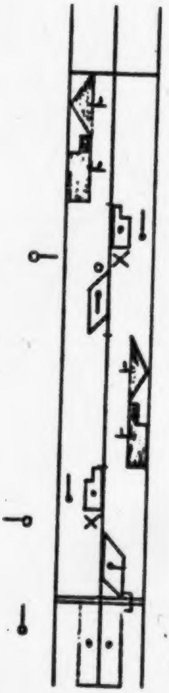


Figure 5.104. Morphokine M.II.a.12.

535 M.II.a.13. is a turn to the side combined with two steps in place. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) body turns one-quarter turn left and left foot steps slightly forward, L_7,
2) right foot steps in place, L_3,
3) left foot steps in place, L_3,
4) body turns one-half turn right and right foot steps slightly forward, L_7,
5) left foot steps in place, L_3,
6) right foot steps in place, L_3.

In Labanotation:

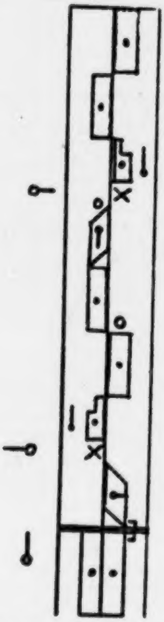


Figure 5.105. Morphokine M.II.a.13.

M.II.a.14. is a turn combined with a bend of the knees. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) body turns one-quarter turn left and left foot steps slightly forward, L_7,
2) right foot touches in place, L_{10},
3) both knees flex and extend, L_6,
4) body turns one-half turn right and right foot steps slightly forward, L_7,
5) left foot touches in place, L_{10},
6) both knees flex and extend, L_6.

In Labanotation:

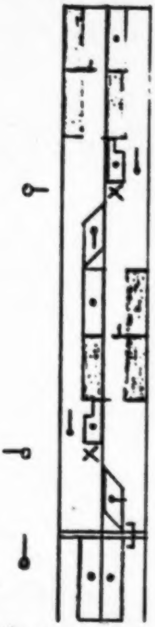


Figure 5.106. Morphokine M.II.a.14.

M.II.a.15. is the cross-legged sitting position, L_{11}. While in this position the foot of the leg that is crosses in front of the other leg is usually moved up and down to mark time. This position is called tangutu fakataāne, 'sit in the manner of a man.'

In Labanotation:

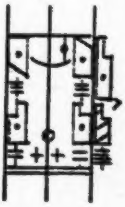


Figure 5.107. Morphokine M.II.a.15.

535 Leg Morphokines of Group M.II.b.

M.II.b. morphokines combine hand movements and leg movements. At some point in the morphokine the hand touches the leg.

M.II.b.1. consists of the palm, with fingers in F_1, hitting the knee while in the cross-legged sitting position, L_{11}.

In Labanotation:

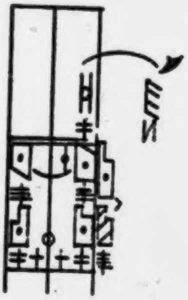


Figure 5.108. Morphokine M.II.b.1.

M.II.b.2. consists of both palms, with fingers in F_1, hitting the knees while in the cross-legged sitting position, L_{11}. This is called ha'aki.

In Labanotation:

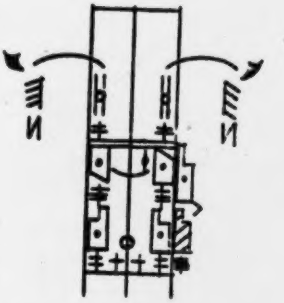


Figure 5.109. Morphokine M.II.b.2.

535 M.II.b.3. consists of the hands hitting the thighs alternately while walking forward. This is often done in groups of three--usually left, right, left.

In Labanotation:

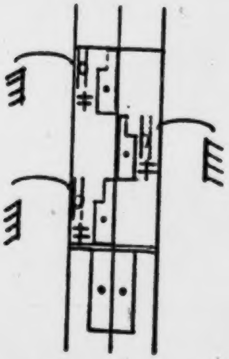


Figure 5.110. Morphokine M.II.b.3.

M.II.b.4. combines a brush of the hands with a touch of the thigh. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm in A_{10} with palm facing P_5; right hand brushes, T_2, the left palm from top to bottom,

2) right hand continues down to touch the thigh, T_1,

3-4) movements are often repeated symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

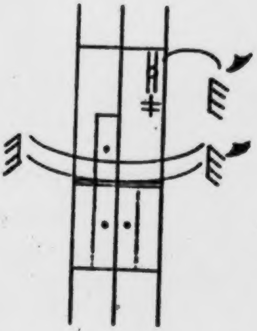


Figure 5.111. Morphokine M.II.b.4.

●595 M.II.b.5. consists of the hand hitting, T_1, the inside of the lower leg near the ankle. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand hits, T_1, left hand,
2) right hand hits, T_1, inner side of right ankle,
3) left hand hits right hand,
4) left hand hits inner side of left ankle.

In Labanotation:

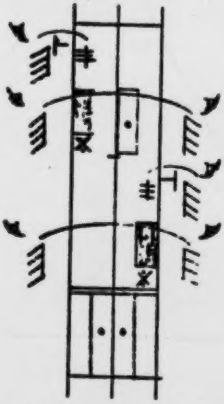


Figure 5.112. Morphokine M.II.b.5.

M.II.b.6. combines hitting the ankle with a turn of the body. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand hits, T_1, left hand,
2) right hand hits, T_1, outside of right ankle which is bent to the back, L_9,
3) body makes a complete turn on the left foot.

In Labanotation:

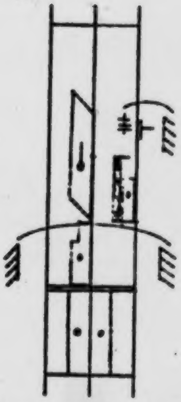


Figure 5.113. Morphokine M.II.b.6.

535 M.II.b.7. consists of hitting the open palms, T_1, to both thighs simultaneously in a standing position, often with the knees bent.

In Labanotation:

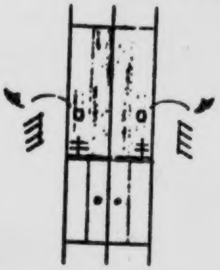


Figure 5.114. Morphokine M.II.b.7.

M.II.b.8. begins with bending one knee and lifting the foot from the ground. The thumb tip then touches the knee, the lower arm rotates, R_1, and the little finger touches the knee.

In Labanotation:

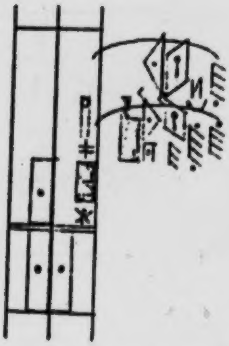


Figure 5.115. Morphokine M.II.b.8.

535 M.II.b.9. combines M.I.a.l. with A_1 and a touch of the knee in the cross-legged sitting position. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) in cross-legged sitting position, L_{11}, the hand rests on the knee,
2) the hand moves to A_1 and back to touch the knee while performing M.I.a.l.

In Labanotation:

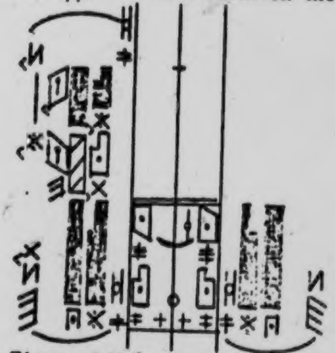


Figure 5.116. Morphokine M.II.b.9.

M.II.b.10. combines M.I.a.l. with A_{11} and a touch of the knee. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) in cross-legged sitting position, L_{11}, the hand rests on the knee,
2) the hand moves to A_{11} and back to touch the knee while performing M.I.a.l.

In Labanotation:

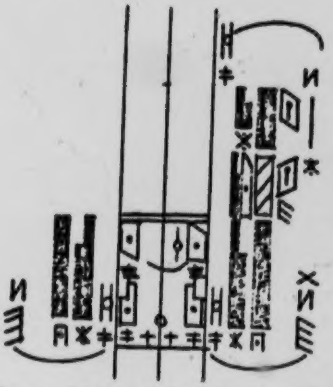


Figure 5.117. Morphokine M.II.b.10.

535

Head Morphokine, M.III.

There is only one head morphokine that is emic and it is the kineme H_1. This same head movement is used as a M.IV. morphokine, but there it is not emic. When H_1 is used as M.III. it is used alone, that is, instead of arm movements. The arm movements stop and the head is moved in a sideward tilt. Thus, it has a definite part in the choreography.

In Labanotation:

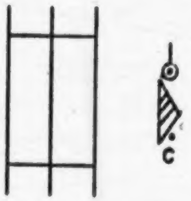


Figure 5.118. Morphokine M.III.

Other Morphokines, M.IV.

Body movements are not emic in Tongan dance and they do not occur alone. I have not listed kinemes for the body because, according to the Tongans, such movements are not significant. Occasionally, however, the body does bend or twist, forming part of the overall environment of the dance, and these movements are necessary for a characterization of the style. When the torso bends it does so from the hips, and the back is kept straight. In the same manner, when the torso twists in a standing dance it does so from the hips.

595 M.IV.1. has two variants in which the body bends forward from the hips.

M.IV.1.a. bends the torso (in a sitting dance) all the way forward as if in a sleeping position.

In Labanotation:

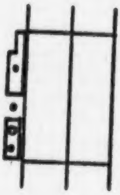


Figure 5.119. Morphokine M.IV.1.a.

M.IV.1.b. bends the torso slightly to emphasize arm movements such as M.I.c.1.

In Labanotation:

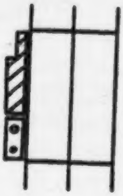


Figure 5.120. Morphokine M.IV.1.b.

M.IV.2. has two variants in which the body rotates or twists.

M.IV.2.a. is a twist or rotation of the torso from the hips. This is usually done to emphasize arm movements that are performed to the side of the body in a standing position.

In Labanotation:

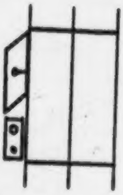


Figure 5.121. Morphokine M.IV.2.a.

M.IV.2.b. is a rotation or twist of the chest. This variant is essentially the same as M.IV.2.a. but is done in sitting dances, where a rotation of the chest is sufficient to follow the movements of the arms.

In Labanotation:

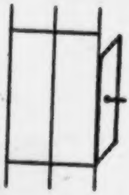


Figure 5.122. Morphokine M.IV.2.b.

535 M.IV.3. is a sideward rotation of the head and is used in conjunction with arm movements. The head follows the arm movements. If the arms are not performing the same movements, the head movement, M.IV.3. follows the arm that is farthest away. Although it is not choreographed, it is understood that M.IV.3. should be included in a performance.

In Labanotation:

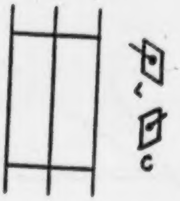


Figure 5.123. Morphokine M.IV.3.

M.IV.4. is exactly the same movement as M.III., H_1. When used as M.IV.4. this head tilt is used in addition to the arms and is not emic. It is, nonetheless, important. Although it does not have a prescribed place in the choreography, and is used when the dancer feels it should be added, there are certain moments in the dance when dancer and spectator alike 'know' that it should appear. This depends on rhythm, words of the poetry, emotion of the dancer, and mood of the audience. It is of prime importance in distinguishing good dancers from poor ones. For Labanotation, see M.III.

535
201 Facial expression, though not emic is also a component in Tongan dance. The facial expression is usually a happy smiling one, however,

535 201 occasionally the expression becomes serious reflecting the words or mood of the poetry. The eyes, too, play a part. The eyes 'smile' as an extension of the smiling face--eyes and face are the same word, *mata*, in Tongan. During the head morphokines, M.III. and M.IV.4., the eyes make a quick side move that corresponds to the side tilt of the head.

535 ## Summary of Internal Structure

So far in this Chapter the corpus of data has been segmented into morphokines and grouped together into seven classes. In summary, these classes are:

M.I.a. *Nima* morphokines which can be performed in more than one environment (M.I.b.). They are active morphokines.

M.I.b. Position-environment morphokines which co-occur with M.I.a. morphokines. They are usually passive.

M.I.c. *Nima*-environment morphokines which include active *nima* movements and the environments in which they occur. M.I.c. as a class is equivalent in the amount of information to M.I.a. plus M.I.b.

M.II.a. Leg morphokines which use legs only.

M.II.b. Arm-leg morphokines which consist of touching the hand to some part of the leg.

M.III. Head morphokine which is emic or significant alone.

M.IV. Head and body morphokines which follow the movements of the hands and occur as part of the environment of groups M.I., M.II. and M.III.

The morphokines and their groupings into classes can now be examined in two ways, each of which tells us something significant about the structure of Tongan dance. First we can examine the classes and make statements about the structural relationships between them. Second we can examine some morphokines individually and make statements about how they form paradigms with other morphokines.

EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION OF MORPHOKINES

Let us begin by stating the structural relationships between the classes of morphokines. We can say, in carrying on our linguistic analogy, that classes are comparable to parts of speech, e.g. verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc. Morphokines that are classed together play similar roles in the structure of the system. Different sets of relationships exist between different morphokine classes.

M.I.a. must occur with M.I.b. (or an arm position kineme which functions as a M.I.b. morphokine) and M.II.a. It may occur with M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.c., M.II.b. or M.III.

M.I.b. usually occurs with M.I.a. and must occur with M.II.a. It may occur with M.III. (instead of M.I.a.) or M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.c. or M.II.b.

M.I.c. must occur with M.II.a. It may occur with M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.a., M.I.b., M.II.b., or M.III.

535 M.II.a. must occur with M.I.a.-M.I.b. or with M.I.c. It may occur with M.III. or M.IV. It cannot occur with M.II.b.

M.II.b. may occur alone or with M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.a., M.I.b., M.I.c., M.II.a., or M.III.

M.III. must occur with M.II.a. It may occur with M.I.b. or M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.a., M.I.c., or M.II.b.

M.IV. may occur with any of the other classes and cannot occur alone.

To summarize: 1) a leg morphokine always occurs; 2) co-occurring with leg morphokines there is either a head (M.III.) or an arm morphokine; 3) arm morphokines are of two types--*nima* morphokines in one of a number of arm positions, or an arm movement in which the arm position is integrally related with the *nima*; and 4) body morphokines do not occur alone but only to help establish the environment of the arm morphokines.

We can characterize the morphokine groups as follows:

M.I.a. - Important and frequently used *nima* morphokines that are basic constituents of the dance system. Without this group of movements the dance tradition would not exist. Most of these morphokines do not have narrative meaning, however, their co-occurrence with certain morphokines of group M.I.b. can convey narrative or symbolic meaning. M.I.a. morphokines are also used as fill-in, connecting, beginning, ending, and dividing morphokines, as well as main elements of movement in all dance types.

535 M.I.b. - Morphokines that are not important in themselves but constitute the environment for the movements of M.I.a. morphokines. M.I.b. morphokines are arm position and palm facing combinations which are usually passive--the action being one of the M.I.a. movement. M.I.b. morphokines have no meaning in themselves, but derive their meaning by combining with the M.I.a. movements. One might call this group the residue left when the meaningful movement of M.I.a. has been subtracted.

M.I.c. - Active morphokines which combine actions similar to those of group M.I.a. with environments similar to M.I.b. The morphokines of group M.I.c. frequently have narrative meaning which interpret
535 the words of the poetry. The narrative meaning is figurative in that
538 one idea can be alluded to by several sets of movements and conversely, one movement can have several sets of meanings. Interpretation is not in terms of realism or pantomime, nor it is symbolical in that one movement always conveys the meaning of one word, phrase, or idea. The narrative element of the dance movement is conveyed mainly through M.I.c. morphokines usually in a subtle and sophisticated manner. They interpret the most apparent level of the poetry by alluding to various concepts in an abstract way. The apparent level of the poetry in turn obscures the deeper meaning of the poetry which is the real reason for its creation. Thus the dance creates a double abstraction. The movements allude to the poetry, while the poetry alludes to the hidden meaning.

535 Some of the M.I.c. movements are a stylization of movements of 516 everyday or ceremonial life. Particularly important are those derived from the making of kava. M.I.c.21. depicts the squeezing of the kava with water and M.I.c.22. depicts the arm movements of a part of the process of mixing kava. These movements can be used to refer to other actions, but usually are quite specific. I would conjecture that a few of the morphokines of group M.I.a. have a similar derivation and at one time referred to the making of kava, but have since lost their narrative meaning. For example, M.I.a.14., when done with two hands is called milolua which refers to the wringing of the kava strainer. Today it is sometimes used with this meaning and sometimes with other meanings. M.I.a.12. sometimes refers to the twisting of the kava strainer around the hand but sometimes does not. I would conjecture that M.I.a.10., called kako, derived from a stylization of wiping the rim of the kava bowl, although it is not used in that way today. Because these M.I.a. morphokines can have more than one meaning or no meaning at all depending on the arm position environment of group M.I.b., they are quite different in function from the primarily 535 narrative M.I.c. group. Thus, the element of narrative interpretation helps to distinguish the M.I.c. group from the M.I.a. group.

M.II.a. are leg morphokines which function two ways in the structure of the dance. First they help to define the genre (or conversely the genre specifies what M.II. morphokines will be used). For example, a dance which uses mainly or only M.II.a.1. and M.II.a.7.

535 is an *ula*. Secondly, the M.II.a. morphokines sometimes, in conjunction with M.I. movements, help interpret the words (for example, M.II.a.3. may be used when referring to walking) or to keep time while the more important movements of the arms are performed.

M.II.b. is a group of morphokines which uses both the arms and legs together, that is, the hands touch the legs. This group of morphokines combines elements from M.I. and M.II.a. in such a way that to separate them would be to destroy their meaning. When a M.II.b. morphokine is performed, no other M.I. or M.II. morphokine co-occurs.

M.III. is the tilt of the head when used instead of active arm movements. When the head tilt occurs as M.III., the arms are in a M.I.b. morphokine or simply at rest. This head morphokine rarely occurs in this way; its more common use is as a M.IV. morphokine.

M.IV. is a small group of head and body movements which are non-emic or non-significant in themselves, but are predictable from the environment. Although these morphokines do not necessarily have meaning, they sometimes help to interpret the words and are essential to the character of the style.

From examining these four classes of morphokines and their relationships we can state in very general terms what components are necessary in any Tongan dance, and what morphokines can and cannot occur simultaneously. For example, in the overall structure of a dance there must be morphokines of group M.II. throughout as a substratum. Each dance type has its characteristic M.II. morphokines, so that one way of classifying Tongan dance into genres is by M.II. morphokines used. This will be elaborated in Chapter VII. Further, the essential character of Tongan dance derives from the varied arm movements which are the most important part of the dance. Finally, body movements are never used alone but only in addition to arm movements.

We can now examine morphokines individually and state how they are combined with other morphokines. The combination of morphokines into larger entities will be examined in Chapters VI and VII. Characteristic combinations result in higher levels of dance structure.

CHAPTER VI

MOTIFS OF TONGAN DANCE

535
MOTIF STRUCTURE

Before we go on to the final step in the structure of dance--that is, how the basic units are combined into a totality or whole dance--let us pause to ennumerate some of the recurrent combinations of morphokines that form short entities in themselves. I have called these often-used combinations 'motifs' because of their likeness to folklore motifs or motifs in the visual arts. Motifs are dance phrases that combine certain morphokines in characteristic ways and are verbalized by the people as dance movements.

Vahe--Dividing Motifs

Like folktales or songs, dances often have conventionalized ways of beginning, ending, and dividing sections. In Tongan dance, beginning, ending, and dividing is rendered by a group of movements known as *vahe*, which literally means 'to divide.' *Vahe* is sometimes qualified with the name of a dance genre, for example, *vahe ula*, which means '*vahe* used in *ula*.' At other times, the word *vahe* is not used, rather the name of the movement is used and it is understood that this is the *vahe*. The three most common *vahe* are *vahe ula*, *vahe fa'ahiula*, and *fu e ua*, '*fu* done two times.'

[p.212]

● 535 Vahe ula

Vahe ula is the beginning, and ending movement of ula, as well as a divider between stanzas. It combines the following sequence of morphokines:

	Left hand	Both hands	Right hand
1.			
2.			M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27.
3.	M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27.		M.II.b.3.
4.	M.II.b.3.		
5.		M.I.b.5.	
6.			
7.	M.I.a.2./M.I.b.26.		M.I.a.2./M.I.b.26.
8.	M.II.b.3		M.II.b.3.
9.		M.I.a.28.	

Vahe fa'ahiula

Vahe fa'ahiula is often used to divide sections in a fa'ahiula type of dance. There are two variations, short and long. The short vahe fa'ahiula has the following sequence of morphokines:

	Left hand	Both hands	Right hand
1.		M.I.a.16.	
2.		M.I.a.5.	
3.			
4.			M.I.a.2.
5.	M.I.a.2.		M.II.b.3.
6.	M.II.b.3.		
7.		M.I.a.28.	

535 The long *vahe* *fa'ahiula* has the following sequence of morphokines:

	Left hand	*Both hands*	*Right hand*
1.		M.I.a.16.	
2.		M.I.a.2./M.I.b.16.	
3.		M.I.a.5.	
4.			M.I.a.2.
5.			M.II.b.3.
6.	M.I.a.2.		
7.	M.II.b.3.		
8.		M.I.a.28.	

The difference between the two *vahe* *fa'ahiula* is that the long one has the addition of M.I.a.2./M.I.b.16.

Fu e ua

Fu e ua consists of *fu* (morphokine K.I.a.29.) done first to the
535 left and then to the right at about chest level. This is done at the
538 beginning and between stanzas of a *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu* and sometimes at the end. In a *tau'olunga* it divides the verses and may or may not be done at the beginning. At the beginning of a *lakalaka* the the dance leader will shout "*fu e ua*" and count "*taha*, *ua*" (one, two)
585 while the dancers perform their two *fu*. This sets the beat as well begins the dance.

In Labanotation:

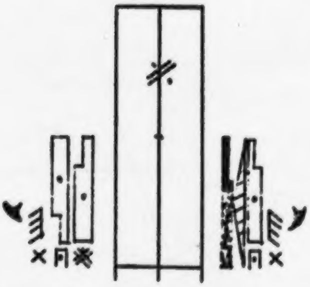


Figure 6.1. Fu e ua.

'Haka' (M.I.a.l.) Motif Paradigm

The most common recurring motif in Tongan dance is based on morphokine M.I.a.l. done in any environment from M.I.b.l. through M.I.b.16. There are probably other environments in which M.I.a.l. may occur. M.I.a.l. is usually done with both arms at the same time. Both arms may be in the same M.I.b. position, they may be in different M.I.b. positions, or they may change the M.I.b. position of one or both arms. The word 'haka' (hand movements in its narrow sense) means this group of arm movements. When 'haka' is used in this way, single quotation marks will be used to distinguish it from haka in its more general meaning of any arm movements in Tongan dance.[1] The morphokine M.I.a.l. and all the M.I.b. environments in

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[1] Haka in Tongan dance does not demote a genre, although it does so in Maori (New Zealand) dance.

535 which it can be performed might be called the M.I.a.l. or 'haka' paradigm. A morphokine paradigm includes a small set of related forms in which there is one morphokine common to a set, together with the morphokines with which it can co-occur.

As there are at least 16 environments in which M.I.a.l. can occur for each arm, and any two can be performed simultaneously, thus there are 16 x 16 or 1056 possible variations of this one morphokine. Not all of these variations occur in my corpus of material, but informants say that all of these combinations are possible.

The most common use of 'haka' is as a fill-in movement--that is, it is used between narrative elements or to fill-in or complete a phrase after the narrative section has been completed. In dances in which there is no narrative element, 'haka' is used simply for the beauty of the movement.

An example in Labanotation:

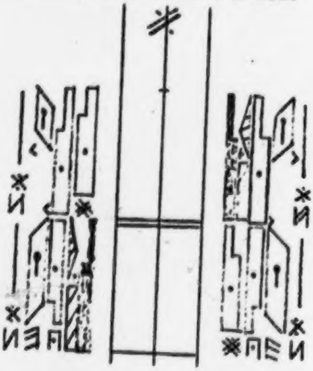


Figure 6.2. An example of 'haka.'

535 '*Haka*' can also be used narratively, such as in the following examples:

M.I.c.1./M.I.b.9. can be used to indicate an ear ornament, *tekiteki*. In this case only one hand performs the '*haka*' and the head is turned away from the hand so that the '*haka*' is performed near the ear and in view of the audience. Ordinarily the head would face so that the eyes follow the hand doing the '*haka*.'

Another example of narrative interpretation by '*haka*' is M.I.a.1./M.I.b.14. to indicate *kalauni*, 'crown,' to refer to the sovereign.

Two '*haka*' that follow each other in different positions may indicate 'from place to place.' For example, in sitting dances, M.I.a.1./M.I.b.3. followed by M.I.a.1./M.I.b.7.--'*haka*' in front of the body followed by '*haka*' at the side of the body--interprets from the 'sea to the beach.' A similar example is left arm in M.I.a.1./M.I.b.5. and right arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9. followed by right arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.5. and left arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9. to interpret 'from north to south.'

Some frequently used combinations of '*haka*' have no narrative meaning but are used often because the Tongans like them. One of these is often used in sitting dances and consists of M.II.b.9. followed by M.II.b.10.--that is performing a '*haka*' in a forward position with one hand while it moves from and back to the knee, followed by a '*haka*' in a diagonal position with the other hand as it moves from and back to the knee.

535

M.I.a.2. Motif Paradigm

Morphokine M.I.a.2. forms a paradigm similar to that of the '*haka*' M.I.a.1., however, it is more restricted and much less frequently used. M.I.a.2. is the morphokine, common to a set of M.I.b. morphokines. The environments in which it occurs are diverse so it is not readily apparent that this morphokine is the common element.

M.I.a.2. can be performed with one arm alone, with both arms at the same time, or with both arms one slightly preceding the other. Its most characteristic appearance is in the *vahe ula* dividing motif (p. 213) in which it is performed twice with each hand in the following sequence: right hand alone, left hand alone, both in M.I.b.27.; then both hands moving but right preceding left in M.I.b.26.

M.I.a.2. is performed with both arms in M.I.b.16. with the narrative meaning of *luva*, 'to give.' It is also performed with one arm in M.I.b.10., and one arm in M.I.b.11., which is the essence of one of the variations of *tafi*, 'sweep' (p. 222).

The paradigm is:

M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27.	first part of *vahe ula*
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.26.	second part of *vahe ula*
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.16.	*luva* 'give'
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.10.	*tafi* 'sweep'
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.11.	

Other Haka Motifs

Haka in its wider sense includes all arm movements in Tongan dance. These *haka* are morphokines that are used alone, repeated, or combined with other morphokines. These often-recurring motifs form a pool of movements that are culturally recognized and satisfying, to choreographers, dancers, and spectators alike.

Ha'otā

After the '*haka*' motif presented above, probably the next most important motif in Tongan dance is *ha'otā*. *Ha'otā*, according to informants and dictionaries has no meaning except the name of a dance movement. *Ha'otā* is usually performed two or three times in succession in different arm positions. For example, *ha'otā*, M.I.a.8., will be performed in M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19., that is, on the left side of the body, in front of the body, and on the right side of the body. Or it may be performed in M.I.b.17. followed by M.I.b.19. A variation of *ha'otā* is M.I.a.9. which is simply *ha'otā* with an added rotation of the lower arm which gives it a very different appearance. M.I.a.9. is performed in the same M.I.b. environments as M.I.a.8.

Kako

Kako was given as a term for this dance movement by informants but it is not listed in dictionaries with this meaning. The whole *kako* motif consists of three parts or three morphokines which follow each other. M.I.a.10., which is the essence of *kako*, is performed

595 with left arm in kineme A_9 and right arm in kineme A_{14}, this is followed by '*haka*,' M.I.a.1. with both arms in M.I.b.9., and finally by '*haka*' M.I.a.1., with left arm remaining in M.I.b.9. and right arm moving to M.I.b.1.

Vete

Vete is not listed in dictionaries as the name of a dance movement, nor is it usually given by informants as the name of a specific movement. Rather, it seems to be a description of what the hands are doing. *Vete* means to 'unwind,' 'unravel,' 'scatter,' or 'disperse.' The motion could be interpreted as describing unwinding or similar movements. *Vete* is a combination of two morphokines--*kako*, M.I.a.9., performed in its usual position (left arm in A_9 and right arm in A_{14}) followed by M.I.a.10.) which is really the first part of *kako*) with both arms in A_{12}.

Milolua

Milolua means to prepare kava in a certain ceremonial way. The *haka milolua*, instead of naming the movement, seems to describe what the hands are doing. This is a wringing movement which describes the wringing of the hibiscus strainer (to remove particles of kava or to fill kava cups). The *haka milolua* often is performed three in succession. It consists of M.I.a.14. performed with both hands one on top of the other, in the arm position environments of M.I.b.17. followed by M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. It is also often performed three times in M.I.b.17., followed by three times in M.I.b.19.

535 **Tene**

Tene consists of M.I.a.21. performed with both hands, one facing to the side the other facing down and resting the fingertips on the first finger of the other hand. It is often performed three times in succession while moving between arm positions of M.I.b.28. Tene is not in dictionaries, but was given by informants as a term for this movement. The name tene may interpret the resting of one object on another.

Toli

Toli means to pick (either flowers or fruit) and again describes
535 the movement rather than naming it. Flowers are very often used to
824 symbolise chiefs. More specifically, the symbolism is often in terms
565
[538] of necklaces of flowers made in special ways, 'kakala hingoa.' When
referring to chiefs in dance poetry, it is usually in terms of
535 allusions to picking flowers to make chiefly flower garlands. The
dance movement which alludes to this allusion is often toli. In the toli motif, the toli or picking part usually follows after a 'haka' in the same arm position in which toli will be performed. The toli, M.I.a.20., morphokine, when it means toli, is usually performed with the lower arm in a vertical position such as A_9 or A_{15}.

Tafi

Tafi is both the name of a dance and a term used for a movement. Single quotation marks will be used to designate 'tafi' as a movement.

535 The word *tafi* means 'to sweep,' and the '*tafi*' motif is used mainly in the dance called *tafi*, which has to do with sweeping the *mala'e* (village green). '*Tafi*' describes the movement. Two quite different movements can be called '*tafi*' and both interpret sweeping. The more usual '*tafi*' movement is M.I.a.2. performed with both hands close together in a low position, usually right arm in M.I.b.11. and left arm in M.I.b.10. or vice versa (see M.I.a.2. paradigm, P. 218). It is usually performed twice, either both on one side or once on the left side and once on the right side, close to the ground. This kind of '*tafi*' is a movement that can also be used in different ways with other narrative meanings.

The second kind of '*tafi*' is M.I.a.27., brushing the little finger of one hand over the palm of the other. It is usually performed twice on one side of the body and twice on the other side. The most obvious meaning of this movement is 'to sweep' but the movement can be used in other ways with other meanings.

Tuhu

Tuhu means 'index finger' and *tuhu ki* means 'to point to.' Thus *tuhu* as a *haka* describes the pointing of the fingers rather than naming a movement. *Tuhu*, M.I.c.10., is usually performed by pointing first to one side and then to the other. A variation of the *tuhu* motif is M.I.c.11. in which the arms circle instead of going directly

[576] from side to side. Occasionally *tuhu* points to the spectators,

535 M.I.c.12., but not often for it is considered rude to point to people,
[576] and it is especially rude to point to chiefs.

Sina vai tafae

This term does not specifically designate a dance movement. When referring to this movement, my informants would sometimes call it '*Sina vai tafae*' because this motif is always done first in the *ula* of that name. Informants would call it this because they knew I would understand what movement they were referring to. I could elicit no name or description for this motif. The motif consists of M.I.c.13. performed first on one side of the body about shoulder level and then on the other side of the body.

Si Sia

Likewise this is not the name of a movement but is used in a particular *fa'ahiula* whenever *si sia si sia* occurs in the poetry. Some informants called it *si sia* when using words to describe it. M.I.a.20. is the essence of this movement. In the *fa'ahiula* where *si sia si sia* occurs in the poetry, it is performed with one hand in the morphokine M.I.b.30. It can also be performed with both arms in M.I.b.30., the hands alternately above and below each other.

Tui

Tui in dance poetry usually means 'to thread' (flowers) to make chiefly garlands or 'to prepare for.' As a *haka*, *tui* describes the movement of threading flowers. Where '*tui*' in a poetic text does not refer to or mean threading flowers, the same movement can be used. Conversely, where other words with similar meanings occur in a poetic text, the same movement may be used--for example, *fio*, 'to mix,' followed by a flower name. *Tui*, M.I.a.18., is usually done so that the lower arm moves upward or forward, for example M.I.b.30.

Tapa

Tapa sometimes means 'to flash.' *Tapa* describes flashing by moving the hands back and forth in opposition to each other. *Tapa* as a *haka* is used when *tapa* appears in the poetry or when something referred to in the poetry has a flashing or sparkling quality. It can also be used with no meaning at all simply because the dancer or choreographer likes the movement. The motif consists of M.I.a.15. in arm positions M.I.b.22. or M.I.b.24.

Sideward Tapa

This is a similar movement to *tapa* but the hands move to the sides in a horizontal plane. This motif is sometimes used to convey motion, such as the moving of the waves, or change of any sort. This motif is morphokine M.I.a.16. in environment M.I.b.25. Sideward *tapa* is my designation for the motif as I could elicit no name or description.

535 **Teunga**

[538] This motif is usually used when teunga meaning 'garments' or wearing apparel, are referred to in poetry. Teunga consists of a performance of M.I.c.6. with one arm and then M.I.c.6. with the other arm.

'Ofa; Loto

[826] 'Ofa means 'love' and loto is the seat of one's affection. In the Tongan view of the world both of these concepts center on the [538] chest. When either 'ofa or loto in poetry is to be expressed by haka, it is done by touching the chest. This can be done in a variety of of ways, but perhaps the best liked is to touch the chest first with one hand, then the other, and finally with both. The touch is a touch of the first pad of the fingers, and may be two, three, or four [129] fingers. 'Ofa or loto do not name the movement. If I would demonstrate the movement, however, and ask for a term, the answer would often be 'ofa or loto meaning that this movement sometimes interprets these poetic concepts. The motif consists of M.I.c.8. followed by M.I.c.5.

Touching Motifs

Touching motifs consist of various combinations of clapping or touching the hand to other parts of the body. The two kinds of clap have different kinds of sound, thus the type of clap may depend on the kind of sound that is desired or it may depend on the kind of movement that is wanted. The pasi clap has a sharp sound while fu has a more sonorous hollow sound. In some dance genres, for example, ma'ulu'ulu, the sound is important. In other genres, for example, fa'ahiula, the sound is not audible.

Ki'i pasi'i

Ki'i pasi'i, 'clap for a short time,' describes a series of pasi, M.I.a.28. This is not just a series of M.I.a.28. done repeatedly, however. After the first pasi the hands do not participate equally in the hitting movement. In ki'i pasi'i the left hand retains its position and the right hand by a rotation of the lower arm, moves so that the palm faces backward, then rotates again and the right hand hits the left hand.

In Labanotation:

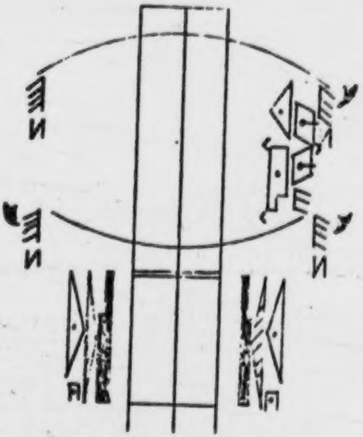


Figure 6.3. Ki'i pasi'i

535 **Teuteu**

Teuteu, 'to get ready,' is a series of *fu* claps, M.I.a.29. performed in M.I.b.25. As in *ki'i pasi'i* this is not just a series of repeated *fu*, for after the first *fu*, the hands do not participate equally. The left hand remains in the same position while the right hand, by a quarter rotation of the lower arm, moves so that the palm faces backward, or upward, then rotates again and the right hand hits the left hand. As its name indicates, this motif is often used at the beginning of a dance to get ready for the more complicated *haka* to follow.

In Labanotation:

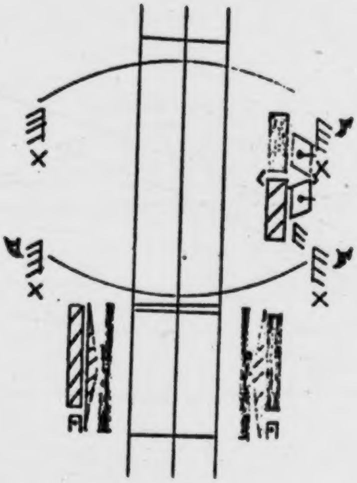


Figure 6.4. *Teuteu*

535 Pasi, Fu Combinations

Another common clapping combination and one that is often used to start or end a phrase is *pasi*, *au*, *fu*, M.I.a.28., M.I.a.4., M.I.a.29.; or just *au*, *fu*, M.I.a.4., M.I.a.29.

In Labanotation:

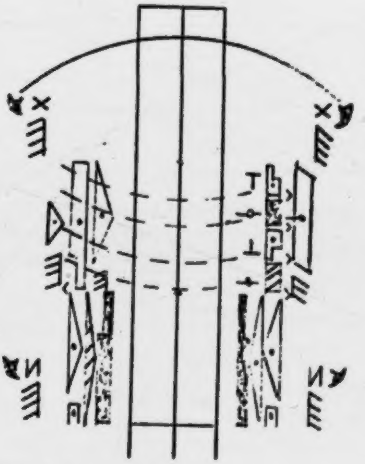
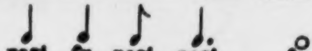


Figure 6.5. *Pasi, au, fu*

Combining *pasi* and *fu* is an often recurring motif. *Pasi*, M.I.a.28. and *fu*, M.I.a.29. can follow each other in the same arm environment or they can be performed as follows: *Pasi* to the front, *fu* to the left side, *pasi* to the front, *fu* to the right side. Another common combination which is liked because of the sound variation is *pasi*, *fu*, *pasi*, *pasi*, *fu*--counted



pasi fu pasi pasi fu.

1 2 3 + (4) 1.

535 An example of *pasi, fu* in Labanotation:

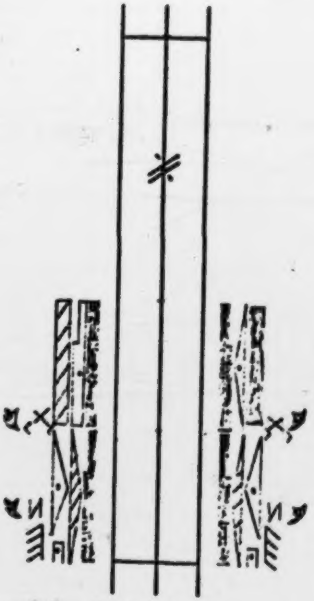


Figure 6.6. *Pasi, fu*

Tunotuna

Tunotuna is a clapping motif which is referred to by the name of the dance from which it comes. An *ula* known as *Tunotuna* is characterised by this movement which consists of turning in a circle, M.II.a.9. while clapping the hands, M.I.a.28. During this motif the torso is bent forward from the hips, M.IV.1.b., so that the hands clap at almost knee level.

535 **Pāpātenga**

Repeated hitting the knee with the hand is a common beginning in the sitting dance type called fa'ahiula. This is morphokine M.II.b.l. [201] repeated in a series. It is sometimes called pāpātenga 'slap the thigh' because women do this when angry, or for emphasis.

Pāpāuma

Another common touching motif in sitting dances is the touching of the shoulder of the adjacent person. This is done by a rotation of the lower arm in M.I.b.30. touching first the front of the shoulder and then the back. It can be called pāpāuma, 'touch the shoulder,' which describes the movement.

In Labanotation:

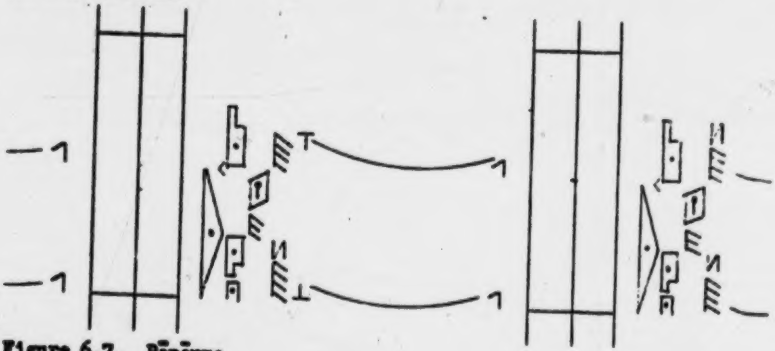


Figure 6.7. Pāpāuma

Motifs and Interpretation

These are some of the common motifs in Tongan dance. They are [192] not, however, equally frequent to the several genres. The terms I

535 have applied to the motifs are certainly not universally recognized
192 in Tonga. Some are well known, for example, *ha'otā* and *haka*. Others are not, although the movements themselves are part of the dancers' movement inventory. Indeed, except for *haka* and *ha'otā*, motifs designations are descriptions of movement or of the words of poetry that these motifs can interpret.

One may question my presentation of the foregoing motifs with names, on the grounds that if the Tongans do not name these movements and this is an ethnoscientific analysis that attempts to see movements as the Tongans see them, why have I named them? My presentation is aimed at emphasizing that the Tongans do not name them but they do associate certain movements with certain words, concepts and ideas. This is not, however, a one-to-one relationship, for one movement motif can interpret many concepts and conversely one concept can be interpreted by many motifs. Finally, dance motifs may have nothing to do with interpretation of poetry whatsoever.

The motifs could simply be numbered, but it is easier for me to remember them if I can associate them with a word or idea rather than a number. The Tongans find it easy to convey the correct information about a movement by associating words with it. Tongans often allude to concepts or ideas with words without associating the meaning of the word with the concept or thing. When the Tongans want to convey by words the idea of a movement, they use terminology

535 that is either descriptive or word-associated. At the same time they 192 deny that the movement necessarily means or even interprets the described or associated idea. In the Tongan language one word may have many meanings. It follows, that if a movement motif is associated with a word, all the diverse meanings associated with the word could be transferred to the motif. Several people may have the same motif in mind but the ideas associated with it can be completely different. The association of words with motifs is an example of an 'organization of diversity,' to use Wallace's term (1962, p. 28). The word conveys a stimulus for action, but the meaning associated with the word differs from individual to individual.

I have presented the motifs the way in which the Tongans presented them to me and the way in which they refer to them among themselves. A word conveys what movement is wanted, but neither the movement nor the word necessarily conveys one specific meaning of the word.

535 There seem to be two main concepts associated with Tongan dance, that is, movement as interpretation and movement as beauty, and these can best be illustrated with motifs.

Interpretive Movements

535 The first of these concepts is that dance interprets, illustrates, 538 or alludes to poetry. The motifs of movement on one level correspond 538 to poetic motifs. Allusion is the essence of Tongan poetry. A poet does not refer to people or their deeds in realistic terms--that is,

538 one would not state someone's name or tell in words what he did. [177] Instead, the person is symbolized by a flower or type of flower garland, or a bird (or since European contact a Lion). Deeds are referred to in poetic terms in a round-about way. The ability to create poetry of this kind is highly admired and sometimes even considered to be supernatural. A poet is called pulotu which is also the indigenous name of the afterworld.

● 535 Allusion is also the essence of Tongan dance. Movement motifs do not interpret in a realistic manner. One would never allude to a flower by holding the hands to look like a flower or a bird by moving the arms to look like wings (as might be done in Hawaiian dance for example). Instead, the movement would suggest a flower or bird in an abstruse way.

539 [538] [535] To illustrate the double abstraction that dance creates, I will use one stanza of a lakalaka known as Kalauni from Lapaha, Tongatapu. The stanza of poetry and its literal translation are as follows:

Kulukona 'o tavake fai'ana	Kulukona flower of the tropic bird created
Ma'e toli he matangi mafana	Plucked by the warm breeze
Kohai 'o Ofo he 'ene ngangatu	Who is surprised at his fragrance
Fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu	Double canoe of Monotapu
He 'oiaue fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu.	Oh yes, double canoe of Monotapu.

This stanza of poetry refers to Prince Tungi (now King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV) and tells us that he was born of the two highest chiefs in the land. Tungi is referred to as the Kulukona flower (a variety of

539 a flowering tree) who was created by the tropic bird. *Tavake*, 'tropic bird,' symbolises the highest male chief in the land, in this case Tungi Mailefihi. He was the highest direct descendant of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua--which is a higher blood line than that of the present line of Kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Chapter II). The nature symbolism continues in the second line with Tungi being plucked by [821] the warm breeze. A warm breeze is sometimes equated with Tonga. The line of poetry says that Tonga, the land of warm breezes, has picked Tungi for their next King. Fragrance is considered desirable and good, and the next line of poetry says that no one is surprised at Tungi's greatness (fragrance because he is a *kulukona* flower) because he is of double chiefly parentage. *Fakatoukatea* is a double canoe with both sides equal and this poetically refers to chiefly descent on both sides. Tungi is also sacred which is suggested by the place name Monotapu--*tapu* meaning 'sacred.'

The allusions, phrased in terms of nature symbolism, refer to Tungi and his genealogy, though neither of these concepts is mentioned 535 in words. The dance motifs, in turn, allude to these allusions, and 539 not to Tungi or his ancestry.

The choreography[2] of the words is as follows: *Kulukona* is choreographed by M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27. (of the M.I.a.2. paradigm, p.

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[2] 'Choreography' will be used in this paper to refer to a pre-set arrangement of dance movements. In Tonga these exist only in the oral tradition and are in no way represented by signs as the dictionary definition of choreography implies.

535 218) performed with both hands; *fai'ana* by *vete*--here interpreting
539 'create;' *Tavake*, 'tropic bird,' by adding the quick side head movement, M.IV.4., which re-creates the head movement of a bird; *toli* by *toli* (in this case it means *toli*, 'to pick'); *matangi mafana* by *vete*; *kohai*, 'who,' by '*haka*,' M.I.a.1., in M.I.b.9.; *ngangatu*, 'fragrance,' by *vete*; *fakatoukatea*, 'double canoe,' by M.I.c.14. which extends the hand to the side. On repetition of this final phrase of poetry, the hand extends to the side again in a repetition of the movement. These two phrases are completed with *au*, *fu*, at the end because M.I.c.14. does not fill the whole phrase of poetry.

In this example *vete* interprets 'create,' 'breeze,' and 'fragrance.' Notice how all of these concepts can be conveyed by the agitation of air which *vete* re-creates. *Toli* is the most obviously narrative movement in this group with its depiction of picking. *Kulukona* conveys 'beautiful flower' with a beautiful movement. *Kohai*, 'who,' is conveyed by a '*haka*,' which one could say looks as if it asks a question.

Two sidedness is created in two ways in this stanza. First it is conveyed by two motions to the side with the arm. Second it is created by the formation of the dancers. In a *lakalaka* the men and women are usually ranged in two or more rows facing the audience, the women on the left (from the observer's point of view) the men on the right. During the performance of this stanza, the men and women

535 539 walk toward each other and the two lines become four ('0' symbolizes woman, 'X' symbolizes man):

1st formation 0000 XXXX
0000 XXXX

2nd formation XXXX
0000
XXXX
0000
(audience)

The men then move to the front of the women and then all go back to their original two lines. This intermixes men and women and then reemphasizes two distinct groups in an additional reference to ancestry and Tungi's equal chiefliness on both male and female sides.

Movements also interpret words by using a movement that sounds like the word it interprets. For example, when the word *Tatakamotonga* (the name of a village) is used, the movements can be *pasi*, *pasi*, M.I.a.28., *fu*, M.I.a.29. *Pasi*, *pasi*, two sharp claps, fall on *ta ta*, and *fu*, the crosswise hollow-sounding clap, falls on *tonga*.

[828] The ability to choreograph poetry is highly admired and again considered partly supernatural, hence the term for a choreographer, *pulotu haka*.

Beautiful Movements

535 [538] The second concept associated with Tongan dance is beauty of movement for its own sake. Some dance genres do not interpret the

535 poetry that the movement accompanies. This is not because present
538 day Tongans do not understand the words, although in some cases they
do not. In the *ula*, one or two phrases of poetry are repeated over
and over. Many different dance motifs are used to accompany these
verses. The movements do not interpret the words and there seems
to be no association between words and movements in this dance. The
535 emphasis of this dance is on the beauty of movement. It is not the
517 dancer's interpretation of the words that is admired, but rather her
skill in the interpretation and performance of the dance motif. The
movement motifs are known to the spectators and the dancer is judged
on the execution of the movement. This judgment is usually phrased
in terms of gracefulness, softness, and the proper use of the head.

535 Some of this beauty-of-movement concept is carried over to
538 dances which interpret poetry. But in these latter, the emphasis is
on interpretation of the words rather than interpretation of the
dance motif.

535 There seems to be a cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement. This may be the explanation for the lack of names of dance movements or motifs. To name a motif is too obvious; a name might limit motif use to one concept. Or the movement, if associated with a name, might convey that named concept when no meaning is wanted. Movements, then, in Tongan dance, are not named. But movements can be brought to mind by words.

● 535 Conclusion

Movements either interpret poetry or create beauty. They present
an abstraction to which dancer and spectator alike may attach
meaning of their own choosing or which they can enjoy aesthetically
as movement. Dance is a physical, mental, and aesthetic activity to
by enjoyed at one or more levels simultaneously. Some dance genres
aim primarily at one or another or these possible levels. But even
those that begin as an intellectual activity, often create an intense
emotional atmosphere and can become an aesthetic experience for both
535 dancer and spectator. When verbalizing this emotional aspect of
517 dance, the Tongans say that they feel *māfana*--that is, 'inwardly
warm or exhilarated.' Spectators also feel *māfana*, especially during
the performance of their favorite dance motifs which they say they
can feel kinesthetically. It is common to see spectators move
their heads along with the dancers, and quite often spectators will
stand up and join the performers, even though they do not know the
dance, because of their inner feeling of *māfana*.

CHAPTER VII

DANCE GENRES

535 The highest level of structure in Tongan dance is that of whole dances. In Chapter I a Tongan dance was defined as a totality in which the structural elements have a standardised chronological order. The Tongans recognise six genres or types of Tongan dance and each has a different combination of structural elements.

The kinemic and morphokinemic levels of dance structure were stated mainly in terms of movement contour with little reference to music, text, or timing. Even motifs were stated almost entirely in terms of movement. At this higher level of organization the differentiation of Tongan dance genres depends on three factors
535 external to movement as well as movement itself. Type of music, the
533 association of poetry, and the occasion of performance influence
538 movement and must be taken into account when whole dances are considered. All four elements are also necessary to understand the role of the dance in Tongan society.

This explanation of Tongan dance structure will briefly consider
535 all four elements for each of the six genres. Besides those to be
[177] discussed here, other dance types exist in Tonga but they are recognised as not Tongan; these are kailao, eke (soke), meke, meke faka-Fisi, and are said to have come from Uvea and Fiji. Ancient dance forms that are no longer performed such as liku, me'elaufola, me'etafoe, me'etaki, or hea will not be discussed; nor will the

[p. 239]

535 *tau faka-Niua* which is a dance local to Niuafo'ou that I have never seen.

The six genres that will be discussed are all still performed today in Tonga. *Lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, and *tau'olunga* are 'living' dance genres--that is, they are still created today, and are known to all Tongans. *Fa'ahiula* and *ula* are quite widely known, though by no means universally, especially not to the younger generation. Although sometimes re-choreographed there are no new creations within these genres. The *me'etu'upaki* is an ancient dance type known only by a select few. It is neither created nor re-choreographed today, but performed only as it has been passed down from generation to generation. I have called these last three genres 'dead but extant' because they are still performed but no longer created.

535 All Tongan dance is performed in conjunction with poetry.
538 Dances without poetry--for example, the *kailao* which is said to have
[177] come from Uvea--are recognised as not Tongan. Although at times
535 there may be instrumental music only--for example during a *tau'olunga*,
533 --it is understood that the text was there originally and that the
music was derived from accompanying poetry. Thus, instrumental music
can be said to be 'wordless' or 'nonvocalised' poetry. However,
some genres have a prelude consisting of *haka* and drumming only.

535 Phrases[1] of poetry are the basis for music and dance movement. 538 The combining of morphokines and motifs is always determined by the [539] phrase of poetry. Whole dances are built with poetry phrases as their basic units and even when the movements do not interpret the words, they follow the phrase structure of the poetry. Phrases are combined into groups, which here will be termed stanzas.[2] Stanzas are recognized by the Tongans to have a definite beginning and end.

535 FA'AHIULA

Fa'ahiula is an ancient women's sitting dance. *Fa'ahi* means 'two sided' and *ula* is a different dance genre. However, *fa'ahiula* does not simply mean an *ula* done by two groups, because *ula* is a standing dance and has other differences from *fa'ahiula*. *Ula* and *fa'ahiula* are similar in that they use the same type of arm movements and the same type of music. *Fa'ahiula* is also called *'otu haka* which means 'row of *haka*' (arm movements).

Fa'ahiula is performed by a single row of seated women. The women are usually elderly or a mixture of young and old, but usually not exclusively young girls or young women. The row is usually curved,

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[1] 'Phrase' is used in this paper to mean a short group of words which conveys a single thought. It is used instead of 'line' because most of the poetry exists only in oral tradition.

[2] 'Stanza' is used in this paper as a neutral term to designate a group of two or more phrases; it does not imply that these sub-sections or sections have the same melody or the same number of phrases.

535 although a modern innovation is to form a wide angled 'V'. The
535 musicians sit inside the curved row of dancers. Traditionally the
533 associated music consisted of singing and beating on a *tafua*, that is,
[534] a mat which had bamboos rolled inside. The *tafua* was struck with
[178] two sticks to establish the pulse for the singing and *haka*. Today the
fa'ahiula is often performed without *tafua* percussion.

535 The singing, however, is not dispensable, because in many cases
533 the movements are really an accompaniment to poetry. Melodic pitch
538 range is quite small and the pulse organization[3] is often 4 or 8. In some cases there are several phrases with 8 pulses followed by a phrase with a different number of pulses. Singing is done by the dancers and those who beat the *tafua*. Sometimes men and women will sit behind the performers and sing, but they are not a necessary part of the performance.

535 The dancers sometimes divide physically into two or more groups
533 (*fa'ahi*) which sing alternately or polyphonically, and their movements
538 also differ. Much of the poetry of the *fa'ahiula* has been handed
[177] down from generation to generation and is no longer understood. In
[829] such cases the Tongans rationalise that the words are Samoan, which is
the usual explanation of something that the Tongans do not know.

There are three types of structure of *fa'ahiula* poetry. The first type has one standard phrase repeated alternately with each of

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[3] 'Pulse organization' is used in this paper to avoid implications of the Western concept 'meter.'

538 the other phrases—that is, t^1 t^2 t^1 t^3 t^1 t^4 t^1, etc.[4] In the second type of *fa'ahiula* structure each successive stanza of a poem alternates with a recurring refrain. The third type of *fa'ahiula* is division into sections.

In poetry of the first type, t^1 is usually "*tuli tuli tuli e*." Tongans say they do not understand the meaning of the phrase but it implies 'pay attention to what I'm going to tell you.' In this structure the phrases are not grouped into stanzas and the poetry usually tells a *tala tupu'a*, 'legend,' of Tonga, such as the creation 535 of the skies. Choreography is very simple. During t^1 the performers 538 do *pasi*, *fu*, or some combination of *pasi* and *fu*. During t^2 t^3 t^4, etc., the performers simply hit their right thigh or knee repeatedly, as in the *pāpātenga* motif on page 230.

In the second type of *fa'ahiula* there are two kinds of stanzas 538 called *kupu* and *tau* which alternate. *Kupu* and *tau* might be compared with the Western concept of verse and refrain. Each *kupu* has the same melody but different words, the *tau* has the same melody and the same 535 words. The structure of the stanzas is A B A C A D etc.[5] In the two 538 examples in my collection with this type of structure, the hand movements during the *kupu* consist of the repeated hitting of the knee,

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[128] [4] The letter t abbreviates 'text phrase'; the superscript indicates phrases in order of their occurrence. The text phrase numbers refer to one stanza only; each stanza beginning with t^1.

[128] [5] The capital letters designate stanzas which are sub-sections of the overall structure.

535 *pāpātenga* motif. During the *tau* interludes the movements interpret
538 the poetry. The two examples in my collection tell legends.

538 The third type of *fa'ahiula* is divided into stanzas, each of which may be different in length, melody and movement. This third type can be said to be through-composed. To illustrate this type, I will use an example known as "*Si sia si sia*." This *fa'ahiula* is divided temporally into three sections. It is divided spatially into two groups. During the first section the two groups sing different phrases alternately; during the second the two groups sing together; and during the third they sing a round. See Table 3.

Present-day Tongans are unable to translate the poetry of this
535 *fa'ahiula*. The movements have been passed down from generation to generation and are performed as learned without intentional change or re-choreographing. Other *fa'ahiula* have been composed in the past 100 years and could be re-choreographed today by a dance specialist, such as Vaisima Hopoate, who understands the words and knows how to add the *haka*. Some of these recent *fa'ahiula* were said to have been composed by his paternal grandfather. I do not know of any *fa'ahiula* that Vaisima has re-choreographed. Instead, he uses the movements he learned from his father. However, he said that he could add *haka* to some *fa'ahiula* where he has forgotten the movements.

The Tongan view of the structure of *fa'ahiula* is that first there is a section of *haka* to draw attention of the spectators before the
535 main part of the *haka* begins. This section has movements such as *pasi*,
533 *fu*, and *pāpātenga*, and may be performed without singing. Or this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 246]

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TABLE 3. OVERALL STRUCTURE, POETRY, AND HAKA OF AN EXAMPLE OF FA'AHIULA, "SI SIA SI SIA."

Section	Group of Performers	Text phrase	Poetry	Haka
A	1	t^1	Vili vili o	No movements
	2	t^2	'A ue ue	
	1	t^1	Vili vili o	
	2	t^2	'A ue ue	
B	1 and 2	t^1	Si au ta vilevila	Pāpātenga motif, p. 230
		t^1	Si au ta vilevila	
		t^2	'Oua, 'oua, 'oua, 'oua	M.III., left, right
		t^3	Nia namea na nia namea	M.II.b.9., left, right
		t^{1a}	Si au ta mo ta vilevila	M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9., left, right
		t^4	'O teine 'o le fa tai sa Samoa	Pāpātenga motif
		t^5	Siale fata le fanga	
		t^6	Le tata'a uaia'a	Tapa motif, p. 224, with touching leg, M.II.b.1.
		t^6	Le tata'a uaia'a	
		t^{6a}	Tata 'a uaia, 'a uaia, 'a uaia	Pasi,2 left, 2 right, 2 middle
		t^3	Nia namea na nia namea	Fisipa, M.I.a.25./A_8-A_9
C	Groups 1 and 2 sing t^1 and t^2 as a round.	t^1	Si sia si sia tuli muli atu	Si sia motif, p. 223, 4 times with right hand
		t^2	Tuli atu tuli mai tuli atu tuli ke ma'u.	With body bent forward, M.IV. 1.b., First tafi motif, p. 222, 2 times left, 2 times right.

(Section C is repeated as many times as the choreographer wishes.)

535 section may be singing only with no *haka*. The second section then
533 relates a story through singing and *haka*. The example given above
535 conforms to this norm, however, not all in my collection do. It may
be that I do not have the entire composition, or that it would be
understood by Tongans that the first part should be included.

The *fa'ahiula* cannot be said to be a living dance type because
no new creations are added to the repertoire today. Few people are
familiar with the *fa'ahiula* and only a very limited number of women
535 perform it. This is in part due to historical circumstances that
795 associated this dance, along with the *ula* and *me'etu'upaki*, with the
[649] Tu'i Tonga line of kings, their village Lapaha, and the Catholic
[644] Church. The *fa'ahiula* was preserved and used by the Catholic Church.
Dances of this type were composed using Catholic concepts and performed
at Catholic gatherings.

535 The performance of *fa'ahiula* today is almost exclusively at
794 gatherings of the Catholic Church, for example, at feasts or entertainments for visiting Catholic dignitaries; at the end of year
exercises of the Catholic school; or if either the Catholic school
or the village of Lapaha are requested to dance at a concert entertainment. The girls of the Catholic high school performed a group of
fa'ahiula at the end of year ceremonies in 1963 and they were asked to
do them again at an entertainment for the Pan Pacific Women's
Conference in 1964 by Princess Mata'aho who arranged the program.
[872] *Fa'ahiula* are also performed at money raising programs of the Catholic

535 Church either by the girls of the Catholic school who are instructed
[794] by Tongan nuns or by the women of Lapaha.

[872] Perhaps the most knowledgeable exponents of the _fa'ahiula_ genre
[538] are Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate. Vaisima is one of the few Tongans
to write down dance poetry and both he and his sister, Ana Malia, have
[644] a remarkable memory for _haka_. Their father, Hopoate, who died in 1966
at the age of 80 was a son of a composer of _fa'ahiula_. Hopoate was a
very high chief and a classificatory _tamai_, 'father,' of the late
Queen Salote Tupou III and thus _kui_, 'grandparent,' of the present
King. Hopoate was known as one of the few people who was an authority
on this dance genre.

Another of the few who know the tradition well is Sister Mary 'Okostino, a Tongan nun who was taught by Malia Toto and Kolotele who were said to have performed for the immediate descendants of the last Tu'i Tonga, and who were known for their knowledge of _fa'ahiula_ and _ula_. Sister 'Okostino teaches _fa'ahiula_ to the girls of the Catholic schools.

643 Finally, it should be noted that _fa'ahiula_ are not performed
795 during official government _katoanga_, 'celebrations,' probably because
[541] they are not considered a formal dance genre today and because of the
[535] association with the Tu'i Tonga line of Kings and the Catholic Church.
The official government is presently under the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of
Kings which is associated with Wesleyanism.

535 *ULA*

[171] *Ula* is an ancient women's standing dance. *Ula* is probably the same word as *hula* in Hawaiian and we can postulate that *ula* and its sitting variant, *fa'ahiula*, were early Polynesian dance forms. *Ula* uses the same *haka* that is used in the *fa'ahiula*. The Tongans consider the two genres closely related, and I was told that the reason one could borrow movements from the other was that they are *tokoua'aki*, 'related like siblings of the same sex,' which implies reciprocal borrowing.

Ula is performed by 2, 4, 6, or 8 women (or occasionally today [562] as a solo), one half entering the dance space from each side. It [561] should be performed by young women, but today not many young women are skilled in the *ula*, so middle age women perform it. Informants say that traditionally the *fa'ahiula* was performed by the older women and then a number of young women performed in front of the seated *kau fa'ahiula*, 'dancers of *fa'ahiula*,' who then became the singers, *kau langi*, for the *ula*.

535 The small melodic intervals of the *ula* are quite similar to the 533 *fa'ahiula*. The pulse organization of the *ula* usually has 6 pulses 535 rather than 4 or 8 as in the *fa'ahiula*. In contrast to *fa'ahiula*, 562 the *ula* does not interpret the words, instead *ula* is more important for beauty of movement and displaying the beauty and dignity of women [561] and their movements. One reason young women should do this dance is that it is they who are beautiful.

535 The poetry of the *ula* is not very important for movement, except
538 for the length of the phrase. Although words are always associated, it
533 is not imperative to the dancer that they be sung. As a case in point,
when practicing *ula*, if we were tired of singing we would stop singing
and carry on with only the beating. During a practice of *fa'ahiula*
we couldn't stop singing because our movements had to follow the words,
even though we didn't understand what we were saying. The structure
of an *ula* is a single stanza consisting of two phrases, repeated over
and over. Thus, the text phrase structure is t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 t^1, etc.,
while the stanza structure is simply A A A A A etc. Sometimes the
first phrase of the stanza is sung by the chorus of singers, and the
535 second phrase of the stanza is sung by the dancers or vice versa. The
539 only example of an *ula* that is translatable is:

Fai mai se langi ula	(t^1_2)	Do for me the words of *ula*
Fai mai se tau'olunga	(t^2)	Do for me the dance.

535 This is no doubt a recent example, first because it is translatable
539 and second because the word *tau'olunga* is used. *Tau'olunga* is a
174
192 recent dance type said to have come from Samoa in recent years, which
[177] is probably historically valid because old Tongan dictionaries do not
list the word and *tau'olunga* is a contemporary Samoan dance type.
535 Even though the above example of *ula* poetry is recent we can postulate
538 that the untranslatable *ula* also referred to the dance itself, its
performers, and its spectators. There are frequent references in
texts to Sina, Vaea, Maleipo, who were mythological and historical
figures known for their beauty and handsomeness, and references to

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 mana'ia which refers to a man who is irresistable. The ula poetry may 538 refer to either the dancing of, or the dancing for, these kinds of people.

535 The movement structure has $X^1 X^2 X^1 X^3 X^1 X^4 X^1$ form.[6] Each X 538 here is equal to one stanza, that is, two phrases of poetry. The 533 association of words and movement is as follows:

Text phrase structure	t^1t^2	t^1t^2	t^1t^2	t^1t^2	t^1t^2
Melodic phrase structure	m^1m^2	m^1m^2	m^1m^2	m^1m^2	m^1m^2
Stanza structure	A	A	A	A	A
Movement structure	X^1	X^2	X^1	X^3	X^1

535 In the movement structure X^1 is always the Vahe ula motif (p. 213). Vahe ula alternates as X^1 with other haka motifs as X^2 X^3 X^4, etc., selected from the following: 'haka,' for example, motif notated on p. 216; milolua, p. 220; tana, p. 221; kako, p. 219; ni nia, p. 223; tuhu, p. 222; Sina vai tafea, p. 223; pasi, fu, for example, the variation on p. 229; and Tunotuna, p. 229. The structure of the ula never deviates from this, however, the order in which the haka motifs come in the X^2 X^3 X^4 X^5 slots is up to the choreographer or the dancer.

The use of the va'e, 'feet and lower legs,' in the ula is very limited but very important. During the X^2 X^3 X^4 phrases, M.II.a.7. is invariably used. During the X^1 phrase, M.II.a.1. is usually used.

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[128] [6] The letter 'X' will be used to designate a movement phrase.

535 The only change in foot movement occurs when one of the *haka* requires an integrally associated foot movement, such as *tuhu* with a jump, M.II.a.8.; or *Tunotuna* with a turn of the body.

The use of the legs is most important in showing the excellence of the dancer. In M.II.a.7., used during the X^2 X^3 X^4 phrases, the feet are to be placed close together, side by side, flat on the floor; the knees are to be bent as far as possible with the back straight (not bent forward from the hips) which according to Tongans causes great pull in the upper legs. This bending of the legs is called *taulalo*; and must be very *faka'ei'eiki*, 'dignified.' There should be no moving of the body or swaying of shoulders or legs. It is also necessary to look alive in the face and move the head, *fakateki*, as a M.IV.4. movement at appropriate times, which are not prescribed but are expected.

535 Dancers of the *ula* are chosen because they are good dancers,
555 which contrasts with the *fa'ahiula* in which dancers are placed accord-
[554] ing to social status. Three points are looked for in choosing dancers of the *ula* in the following order:

1. the 'correct' posture of the body, i.e., feet close together, back straight, knees far bent,
2. looking alive in the face and moving the head properly,
3. physically attractive in facial features and body proportions.

Note that hand movements are not mentioned because it is assumed that women who try to do this dance can perform the *haka* properly. Although

535 the *haka* are most important in the general performance of Tongan dance,
555 it is the use of the rest of the body which distinguishes good dancers
from poor ones, and this is especially true in the case of *ula*.

535 Each *ula* text, that is, one stanza of two phrases of poetry, is
538 complete in itself and is sung over and over again throughout the dance.
539 However, two *ula* (and perhaps more) can follow each other without an
interval. When this is done, the second one is usually *Sima vai tafae*,
because in this *ula* the two groups of dancers move away from each
535 other and then return to the center of the dance space. Though some
ula have a characteristic arm movement, for example, *Tunotuna* often
uses the motif called *Tunotuna* of clapping the hands and turning the
body in a circle, all of the other movements can also be performed
in each *ula*.

The *ula* cannot be said to be a living dance type, nor can it be
535 said to be completely dead. It is uncommon to have poetry created for
538 *ula* today, however, I did find one that the dance experts told me they
had never heard before. The poetry may be a misremembered version of
[539] the example quoted earlier. This version is:

Fai mai se tau'olunga, Io	(t^1)	Do a dance for me
Fai mai se langi, Io.	(t^2)	Sing the song for me.

I imagine that this *ula* was created by a person who does not usually perform *ula*. Wishing to do so, she used the song as she remembered it and used movements she remembered. This *ula*, incidentally, is the one now performed by Tongans in Honolulu.

535 An innovation seen in ula in Tonga was the substitution of the fi fia motif (p. 223) performed with both hands simultaneously, instead of M.I.a.2. at the beginning of the vahe ula. The ula experts, however, are quite contemptuous of the adapted vahe. The only 'approved' changes are those of changing the order in which the ula motifs are done in the X^2 X^3 X^4 phrases; and the addition of some 'haka' of the M.I.a.1. paradigm that were not previously used in the ula. Some of the 'haka' were traditionally part of the ula and fa'ahiula, but in recent times more of these 'haka' are added to make it more colorful.

535 644 [795] [645] [582] [794] [872] The ula like the fa'ahiula, due to historical circumstances, was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, and the Catholic Church. This is, however, no longer exclusively the case, for a number of women from Lapaha[A] married men from the village of Kolonga and the ula is occasionally done there. Another reason that ula is done by 'outsiders' is that it, along with fa'ahiula is taught in Catholic schools and the students come from many villages. In their own villages it is easy to do an ula because it may be performed by only one or a

535 few women; while the fa'ahiula should be done by a large number. It is not difficult to tell which ula performers have grown up with the

[644] tradition. The Lapaha people are still the experts in the tradition, secure in their superiority, although others may perform it. Those who have learned it in school do not know what are the essential features of the ula and they carry over features of the tau'olunga

A [the Tui Tonga's village--Analyst]

535 which is the widespread dance type. In Lapaha, children begin dancing
535 when very young. They watch the adults practicing *faiva*, they stand
644 behind them and dance, they then run off, form their own line and
868 play at *faiva*.

857 Performances of the *ula* today are at the same occasions as the
535 *fa'ahiula*. On these formal Catholic occasions an *ula* can follow after
[794] a *fa'ahiula*, or an *ula* may be performed alone. *Ula* are also performed
535 on occasions where it is important to demonstrate traditional
186 'Tonganness.' For example, at the opening of a private school in
[871] school in 1965, which was outside the governmental realm of the Tongan
educational system, the headmaster of the school wanted to impress
the Tongans with the traditional nature of the curriculum adapted to
modern society. In the dance program following the dedication feast a
lakalaka was performed, and then, instead of the usual *tau'olunga*, an
ula was substituted. It was done with the *si sia vahe ula* rather
than in the 'correct' way.

535 The most knowledgeable exponents of the *ula* are the same as for the *fa'ahiula*--that is, Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate who learned from their father. They have a repertoire consisting of six *ula*. Sister 'Okostino is another well known exponent of *ula*. Her repertoire consists of eight *ula*, four of which are different from Vaisima's.

[541] *Ula*, like *fa'ahiula*, are normally not performed during official
[621] government celebrations. During formal Catholic celebrations, only
[644]

535 those who have been brought up in the tradition perform. Thus there is
621 little incentive for young women of other villages to learn the
[644] tradition. Even if one would want to learn, however, it would be
535 difficult to find a teacher. The women of Lapaha usually only teach
621 their own daughters or relatives. If someone from another village
868 did learn, she would probably not be taught the essential features of
body movement or might not be given the 'correct' vahe ula.

ME'ETU'UPAKI

535 Me'etu'upaki is an ancient man's standing dance in which the
293 performers use paddles called paki. The name, me'etu'upaki, translates as dance (me'e) standing (tu'u) with paki. Paki has been translated by Churchward as "paddle or flat club" (1959, p. 399). Thus me'etu'upaki describes the dance as well as names it. The me'etu'upaki arm movements will not be elaborated here because the emphasis is on the movement of the paki. Suffice it to say that the paki is often used as an extension of the lower arm. The blade of the paki can be compared with the face of the palm and recurrent movements consist of the hitting of one hand to the blade in a manner similar to performing a pasi clap. The movements are bigger but always graceful and dignified. The paki is often twirled by rubbing the hands together much like the movements of morphokine M.I.c.21., palu.

535 Me'etu'upaki is performed by men ranged in several rows who sometimes move as one group or who may divide into two or three groups.

535 While performing a number of expert turns and twirls of the paki, they rearrange themselves so skillfully that one must see several performances to understand what movements each person makes to take him to [539] his new position. In the sections where the dancers divide into two or three groups, each group sings a different set of words and melody simultaneously, all of which have different lengths and different sets of movements. The movements are very graceful, which is striking because modern Tongan men's dance movements are expected to be virile to contrast with women's graceful movements. The foot movements include steps in place, M.II.a.6.; small steps around in a circle, M.II.a.9.; small jumps, M.II.a.8.c.; and touching one toe in front of the other foot, M.II.a.2.a.

The fakateki head movement, M.III. is performed in prescribed places in the dance and it is also expected to be added when the dancers feel it should, M.IV.4. The paki movements are graceful and I would hypothesize that they represent movements of a canoe paddle and not movements of a war club as previous writers on Tongan dance
535 have claimed. Tongans say that they do not know what the movements
538 mean nor if they interpret the poetry because they cannot understand it. Although I cannot give a satisfactory translation of the poetry, some of it seems to refer to canoes, directions, and island names. Thus, I feel that the movements of the paki interpret the poetry which tells of ocean voyages.

535 The performers accompany their movements with singing and a group
533 of men called *lolongo* also sing. Two or three hollow log gongs called
[534] *nafa* are beaten. The *nafa* was a log hollowed out in various thick-
534 nesses so that when hit in the middle or near the edges different tones
were obtained. It is said that the Tu'i Tonga himself beat the *nafa*
while the lesser chiefs danced. During the first half of this century
it was often Hopoate (p. 247) who beat the *nafa*.

534 Today the word *nafa* is used in two ways. *Nafa* is translated by
192 Churchward as "drum" (1959, p. 374) and refers to the skin drum used
in *ma'ulu'ulu*. The indigenous *nafa* should not be called a drum
because it does not have a skin. Most Tongans today do not associate
the word *nafa* with a hollow log gong, but rather with the skin drum
[177] used in *ma'ulu'ulu*. The hollow gong used today in Tonga, mainly as
church 'bells,' is called *lali* and is the Fijian style of log gong.

538 *Me'etu'upaki* poetry is untranslatable by present day Tongans,
[192] who say that the words are Uvean, Futunan, and Samoan. It is through-
538 composed in several stanzas. Each stanza is performed two or more
535 times and there is usually a short interval between the stanzas. Before
533 each stanza begins the dance leader, who stands at one side, says,
"*Tu ki hoki*" which signifies that the stanza is to begin. Most
stanzas end with a shout "*tu*!" at which time *paki* are raised with a
flourish. The poetry structure of a performance of a *me'etu'upaki* that
I witnessed is as follows (for text see Appendix B):

538
595
533

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Stanza A -	t^1 (18 times)	t^2 t^2 t^3 t^3 t^2 t^2 t^3 t^3	t^4 t^4 t^4 t^4
Stanza B -	t^1 t^2		
B	(repeat)		
Stanza C -	t^1 t^1 t^2 t^2		
C	(repeat)		
C	(repeat)		
C	(repeat)		
Stanza D -	t^1 t^1 t^2 t^2		
D	(repeat)		
Stanza E -	t^1 t^1 t^2 t^2 t^3 t^4		
E	(repeat)		
E	(repeat)		
F -	t^1 t^1 t^2 t^2 t^3		
F	(repeat)		
F	(repeat)		

In stanza A the dancers divided into three groups and sang different poetry phrases, all three of which were of different length. Group 1 sang their phrase 18 times, two of these preceded actions by the other two groups. Groups 2 and 3 sang their respective phrases enough times so that they all finished together. During the rest of this me'etu'upaki the performers all sang together. The beginning formation was of eight columns, three men deep (that is, three rows, each with eight men) who were located at the rear of the dance space. Thus:

Beginning Formation - X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X

538 During stanza A each of the three groups moved separately: Group 2
535 (middle 4 columns) remained in place while groups 1 and 3 (outer 2
533 columns) moved to the front of the dance space. Thus:

```
Stanza A - First              X X X X
change in formation           X X X X
                          X X X X X X X X
                          X X         X X
                          X X         X X
```

Then groups 1 and 3 remained in place and group 2 moved forward.

~~Thus:~~

```
Stanza A - Second         X X X X X X X X
change in formation       X X X X X X X X
                          X X X X X X X X
```

During stanzas B and C the dancers remained in this position. During stanza D the whole group moved to the right. Stanzas EF began with the dancers as a single group. They divided into two groups each with four columns, three men deep. Thus:

```
Stanzas EF - First      X X X X     X X X X
change in formation     X X X X     X X X X
                        X X X X     X X X X
```

Each set of four columns then moved to become two columns. Thus:

```
Stanzas EF - Second      X X         X X
change in formation      X X         X X
                         X X         X X
                         X X         X X
                         X X         X X
                         X X         X X
```

538 Each pair of two columns moved toward each other to become a single
535 group of four columns, six men deep. Thus:

533 Stanzas EF - Third change in formation

X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X
X X X X

Finally they returned to their original starting position of a single group of eight columns, three men deep. Thus:

Stanzas EF - Final change in formation

X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X
X X X X X X X X

There was no interval between stanzas E and F.

The stanzas used and the number of their repetitions is at the descretion of the choreographer. He arranges the performance according
535 to the desired duration and how many men will participate. Teachers
644 of the *me'etu'upaki* are members of the *falefā matāpule*, the ceremonial
attendants of the Tu'i Tonga. One of these attendants, Kavapele,
usually teaches the dance today as, in his forties, he is still of
dancing age. Another of the *falefā matāpule*, Mailau, is well known
535 for his knowledge of *me'etu'upaki*. Mailau is now 74 years old and
644 leaves the dance teaching to the younger men, but he still helps with
538 remembering the poetry. The poetry is not written down, but recon-
[212] structed from memory each time it is to be performed. Mailau remembered six sections of *me'etu'upaki*. Kavapele, who taught the *me'etu'upaki* I saw and also taught me to perform the dance, remembered
535 six stanzas, four of which were the same as Mailau's. Vaisima, though
538

535 not a *falefā matāpule*, is also known for his knowledge of the *me'etu'u-*
538 *paki*. He learned the poetry from his father Hopoate (who was mentioned earlier as having played the *nafa* at *me'etu'upaki* performances) and has written down what is reputed to be 'all' of the *me'etu'upaki*. Vaisima's example includes all of the stanzas of Kavapele and Mailau and several more. Some of these stanzas are quite long, one of them having over 20 phrases of poetry (in some cases it is difficult to tell where one phrase stops and the next begins). The movements of all the stanzas in Vaisima's repertoire are not remembered, and he does not know when they were last performed. The stanzas usually performed today are those of Kavapele's repertoire, because he is the one who usually does the teaching.

The *me'etu'upaki* is not a living dance genre. The choreographer decides which stanzas will be performed on a given occasion, what order they will be in, and what the number of repetitions will be. No new creations are added to the repertoire and there is no remembrance of anyone composing in this genre. Rather, this is a fossilized dance genre, passed on as learned for many generations without conscious
651 deviation. This dance, according to living Tongans, has come down from
796 ancient times and was performed for the Tu'i Tonga on ceremonial
[535] occasions such as the *'inasi*, first-fruits, ceremony at which time the
[643] people brought quantities of food to the sacred King to insure abundant
[648] harvests in the future. Tribute was also brought from Uvea, Futuna, Samoa, and Fiji, all of which were at one time subservient to Tonga.

535 643 [178] [644] [795] [872] The *me'etu'upaki* was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, even more strongly than the *ula* and *fa'ahiula*. With changes in the societal structure of Tonga, that resulted in the Tu'i Kanokupolu becoming the ruling dynasty, and the institution of Wesleyanism almost as a State religion, the *me'etu'upaki* fell into disuse. Today it is associated with the Tu'i Tonga line, the Tu'i Tonga's village, Lapaha, and Catholicism. On the rare occasions of its performance, it is done mainly by Lapaha, Tu'i Tonga line, Catholic men. The last such performance is said to have been in 1945 at the 100th anniversary of the birth of George Tupou I. The *me'etu'upaki* today may also be performed by the boys of the Catholic high school at the end of the school year ceremonies. The dance is a difficult one, and it will probably not be many more years before it, too, will be dropped from the extant genres of Tongan dance. (For a more complete treatment of the societal aspects of the *me'etu'upaki*, see Kaeppler 1967b.)

535 We come now to the living Tongan dance genres of which there are three, *lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, and *tau'olunga*.

LAKALAKA

Lakalaka is the contemporary dance type presented for formal occasions, whether they be government, church (especially Wesleyan), village, or family. On a government occasion *lakalaka* are performed by 'all' the men and women of a village, which is often over 100. On smaller specialized occasions there may be only about 30 dancers.

535 There is also a special dance group of the Palace known as 'Kava
Tonga,' which dances for formal occasions.

114 I have argued elsewhere (Kaeppler 1967b) that the lakalaka is an
535 evolved form of the ancient dance type me'elaufola. Innovations were
178 dispensing with indigenous musical instruments of bamboo stamping
[534] tubes and bamboos struck with sticks, and changes that were necessary
for men and women to take part in the same performance, which was
535 mainly that both should do the same foot movements. In the Tongan
829 view the lakalaka is a recently created dance genre, and it is
credited to Tuku'aho, chief of Tatakamotonga, and a punake, 'composer
and instructor of dances and their poetry,' known as Malukava. The
official view of the government in regard to lakalaka is that it
originated after the first missionaries started schools in Tonga.
"The teachers would rise and repeat some of their nursery rhymes and
at the same time demonstrate with their hands the various actions
depicted by the rhymes. The children would follow suit and gradually
this action song evolved" (Premier's Office, 1962, p. 17). It is said
that Tuku'aho, when he heard of the children's recitations, decided
that a dance built on the same principles would be appropriate.

535 Lakalaka is performed by men and women together who stand in two
or more rows facing the audience, the men on one side the women on the
other. The two groups do different sets of movements. The men's are
virile and vigorous while women's are soft and graceful. The men's
movements are bigger, looser and freer, and quite often the arms are

535 more extended, while the women's movements are smaller, more restrained and there is limited use of the upper arm. Although the basic movements are very much the same, their differences lie in the order and the manner of performance and are more apparent than real.

Foot movements for men and women are basically the same, that is, allo-kinemic, the men's steps being larger than women's. There are usually only three foot movements: morphokines M.II.a.1., M.II.a.2., and M.II.a.3. The most common morphokine, M.II.a.1., could be used throughout the dance. Lakalaka means to 'walk' or 'step it out' and M.II.a.1. is simply that--a step-touch alternately to each side. M.II.a.3. is forward and backward walking steps that are added either for the sake of variation or to interpret walking elements of the poetry.

Arm movements for both men and women are based first on the 'haka' M.I.a.1. paradigm and pasi, au, fu, clapping combinations; second on 'other haka' motifs, and third on a number of M.I.c. morphokines.

535 Music associated with the lakalaka is singing only. Singing is
533 provided by a chorus called langitu'a which stands behind the dancers, and the dancers themselves. The langitu'a is a necessary part of the performance because it is considered that the dancers cannot dance
535 and sing simultaneously as loud as is necessary. The dance leader who has taught the dance usually stands behind the dancers and sets
[554] the tempo by calling commands and counting. The exception to this practice is a punake who holds the title Malukava who may direct from

535 a position in front of the dancers. It is because of the title that
554 he is permitted to stand in front of the dancers and not necessarily
because of the ability of the individual who holds it. This title
descends from the Malukava, who along with Tuku'aho originated the
535 *lakalaka*. The dance leader calls, "*Nima* *ki* *'olunga*," at which time
the dancers measure the space between them by stretching their right
arms to the side and touch the shoulder of the adjacent person. The
dance leader then calls "*fu* *e* *ua*," which is the *vaha*, dividing motif,
535 for the *lakalaka* (p. 214), and counts, "*taha*, *ua*," "one, two." He
533 then begins to sing the song and after a few words the whole group
joins in. Sometimes, especially if there is a large number of
performers, the dance leader may beat the time on two sticks so that
the whole group can hear. It is said that if they cannot hear the
beat the singers go faster and faster until finally the dancers,
especially the men doing vigorous movements, are so tired that at the
end of the *lakalaka* when they should do their best movements, they are
[301] too fatigued to do so. There is no instrumental accompaniment except
[177] that the performers from a few villages wear seed anklets, which is
said to be a borrowing from the Uvean dance *kailao*.

A *lakalaka* typically lasts fifteen minutes or more. Usually there are three sections and these may be divided into sub-sections which, in turn, are divided into phrases. Within the overall structure there may be one or more sub-section known as *tau* or *tau* *ngahaka*, which is a stanza in which the performers are particularly *māfana*, 535 538 'inwardly warm or exhilarated,' and do their best *haka*. In addition, some *lakalaka* have a special ending called *sipa*, which is characterized by the dancers turning around and moving to the rear of the dance space, then facing the audience and advancing forward again. The melody and some of the words of the *sipa* are taken from the *me'etu'upaki*.

535 538 The most fundamental division is a tripartite one which divides the poetry into three sections. These sections are *fakatapu*, *lakalaka* proper and *tatau*.

Fakatapu

535 538 [537] *Fakatapu* is the stylized beginning of a speech. It is also the beginning section of a *lakalaka*. In both cases it recognizes chiefs and important people present and in effect asks their permission to speak. It may recognize the chiefs of various large societal divisions, the King or Queen, the individuals that the celebration honors, honored guests, the heads of churches, or the Christian God. Sometimes these people are named in the poetry but usually they are alluded to in symbolism. The *fakatapu* can be more or less elaborate depending on the poet.

One of the *fakatapu* written by the late Queen Salote recognizes only the 'crown of the land' and then goes on to tell of the happiness of the people with their Tongan traditions under the Tongan government.

535 An example of a *fakatapu* not written by the late Queen recognizes 538 the 'sun on high' to refer to the Queen; the 'lion in the royal tombs' to refer to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of the Queen's ancestors; the 'two Ma'afu lines' to refer to two great societal divisions; and the chiefs of Fiji and Samoa who had come to the celebration.

Sometimes the *fakatapu* section does not have dance movements. Instead, the dancers stand with one hand on the chest and recite the *fakatapu*. In such case it is called *fakalaulausiva*. There is usually only one stanza, but can be more.

Lakalaka Section

The *lakalaka* proper is the main part of the composition and tells the story. It may introduce the dancers or give the attitude of the people toward the celebration on which it is being performed. It usually alludes to the village or island from which the *lakalaka* comes by referring to historical events, famous sceneries or people from that area. The *lakalaka* proper is usually divided into several stanzas, though occasionally it is a single long section.

Tatau

Tatau is the ending section and often a closing counterpart of the *fakatapu*. In this section the *lakalaka* says goodbye and again defers to the chiefs. It may also end with the thought that no matter

535 where in the world one may travel, his love will always bring him back
538 to Tonga. The *tatau* is usually only one short stanza.

Lakalaka, then, consists of three parts: 1) to recognize the chiefs and ask their permission to speak, 2) to tell a story, trace a genealogy, etc., and 3) to defer again to the chiefs. Within this general outline the composer is free to improvise and use his creative imagination. Each section and often each stanza has a different melody and rhythm. Phrases within a stanza may be the same length or may vary. The movements not only interpret the poetry by allusion, but their overall character varies according to the melody and tempo--those of the *tau* stanzas being especially lively.

To illustrate the structure of a *lakalaka*, I will use the *lakalaka*
[644] known as *Kalauni* that was used above in the discussion of motifs. This
lakalaka is from Lapaha, a village reknowned for dancing. The *ta'anga*,
[643] 'poetry,' was composed by Queen Salote Tupou III, who was a reknowned
[533] virtuoso of *lakalaka ta'anga*. The *fasi*, 'melody,' and *haka*, 'hand
movements,' were composed by Vili Pusiake who was particularly
reknowned for his ability to choreograph *lakalaka*. The structure of
the *lakalaka* is as follows (for text see Appendix B)[A]:

[A] [See category 116, p. 314--Analyst]

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Section or stanza	Text phrase
Section I. Fakatapu	
Stanza A	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^5\ t^6\ t^7\ t^8$
A	(repeat)
Stanza B	$t^1\ t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4$
B	(repeat)
Section II. Lakalaka	
Stanza C	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^5$
C	(repeat)
Stanza D Tau	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^4$
D	(repeat)
Stanza E1	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^5\ t^5$
E1	(repeat)
E2	$t^6\ t^7\ t^8\ t^9\ t^{10}\ t^{11}\ t^{11}$
E2	(repeat)
Stanza F1	$t^1\ t^2$ (slowly)
F1	(repeat at a faster tempo)
F2	$t^3\ t^3$
F3	$t^4\ t^5$
Stanza G	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^4$
Section III. Tatau	
Stanza H Tau	$t^1\ t^2$
H	(repeat)

The movement phrases are determined by the text phrases which they interpret. At the beginning, between each sub-section, and at the end, the lakalaka vahe, fu e ua, is used.

Few lakalaka have such an elaborate structure, but it is this kind that is most admired with its varied repetitions of phrases and stanzas. The pulse organization of the phrases changes with some

535 stanzas and sometimes within a stanza. If the poetry of a phrase is
538 felt to be too short, there may be repetition of a word within a
533 phrase. This is done in stanza C of the above example. A text phrase
can also be lengthened by adding tones to extend a word.

535 The movements depend on the repertoire of the choreographer. Choreographers from Lapaha are particularly well known and are invited to other villages and islands of the Tonga group to choreograph *lakalaka* and teach them to their dancers. The large *lakalaka* movement inventory of the Lapaha choreographers is partly due to the fact that it is their village which has preserved the three earlier dance types. Choreographers who know only *lakalaka* have no other dance genres from which to 'borrow' movements. The best choreographers usually use only one interpretative or *haka* motif per text phrase, fitting the motif to the phrase in two or three M.I.b. environments and completing the phrase with a variation of the *nasi*, *au*, *fu*, motif. Another common movement phrase structure is an interpretive movement from M.I.c. group completed with a movement of the M.I.a.l. '*haka*' group or carefully selected motifs from the other *haka* group of motifs. An example of this latter type was the stanza illustrated in the Chapter on motifs, where the first part of each phrase used interpretive motifs (M.I.a.2., *toli*, and M.I.a.l.) in three successive phrases, and each was completed with *vete*. Another means of variation is repetition at a faster tempo, as in stanza F1 above.

535 *Lakalaka* are performed on all formal government *katoanga*,
541 'celebrations,' unless dance is tapu because of death or mourning. In fact, performance of *lakalaka* is one of the main parts of a government *katoanga*, and perhaps can be thought of as taking the place of speeches that would be appropriate on a formal occasion. New *lakalaka* are composed several months before any large scale government function and practiced every night (except Sunday) in the village often for two or three months. The last large-scale government *katoanga* was in 1962 which celebrated 100 years of freedom under the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty of Kings. During this *katoanga* there were two full days of *lakalaka* in Tongatapu, there was one day of *lakalaka* in the Ha'apai group of islands and two days of *lakalaka* in the Vava'u group of islands.

535 *Lakalaka* is the most important living dance genre in Tonga. Its structure, although 'created' in historic times, is similar to ancient genres such as *me'etu'upaki*. The main foot movement, M.II.a.1., is the same as that in the recurring t^1 phrase of *ula*. The majority of the hand movements are the same ones used in *ula* and *fa'ahiula*.
535 Through *lakalaka* the Tongans show their allegiance to the King and
182 reinforce the socio-political system that is based on a hierarchical
554 ranking of persons. The structure of the dance space reinforces this
[641] ranking, as the placement of dancers is according to social status
535 (see Chapter II). In addition, there is a reinforcement of values,
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535 182 562 such as the appropriate rolls of men and women as reflected in the character of their movements.

MA'ULU'ULU

535 *Ma'ulu'ulu* is a dance that may be presented on formal and on semi-formal occasions. It can take the place of a *lakalaka* when one or more of several criteria are present:

1) all men or all women will be the performers,
2) performers are too young or too old for *lakalaka*,
3) performers are too few or too many for *lakalaka*,
4) when a *ma'ulu'ulu pulotu haka*, 'choreographer,' is available,
5) a group prefers to do a *ma'ulu'ulu* rather than *lakalaka*,
6) if they are requested to do *ma'ulu'ulu* (by the Queen for example).

[541] Although a *ma'ulu'ulu* may replace an individual *lakalaka* in a *katoanga*, the whole dance program of a *katoanga* would not consist entirely of performances of *ma'ulu'ulu* (whereas it could consist of of *lakalaka* only). This may be one reason why *ma'ulu'ulu* is recognized [177] [643] as a semi-formal dance. Other reasons are that *ma'ulu'ulu* is incomplete because it may have only one sex, and it is said to have diffused from Samoa, while the origin of *lakalaka* is historically associated with the ruling line of Tongan Kings.

Ma'ulu'ulu differ from *lakalaka* in several ways, the most obvious observed difference, and the immediately verbalised one, is that *ma'ulu'ulu* is a sitting dance and *lakalaka* is a standing dance. Though in

535 general this distinction holds, there are exceptions. In some
lakalaka there are stanzas in which the dancers are seated, as in the
lakalaka of Kolovai where the dancers depict the making of kava. In
a *ma'ulu'ulu* with more than one row of dancers only the first row is
[533] seated. Other important differences between *ma'ulu'ulu* and *lakalaka*
are those of musical accompaniment, overall structure, movements,
and origin.

535 The *ma'ulu'ulu* dance type is said to have come from Samoa
177 toward the end of the 1800's. It was well liked by the Tongans and
[192] the first one that the Tongans performed was sung in the Samoan
language. As performed in Tonga today, the *ma'ulu'ulu* is a combination
of Tongan dance concepts and Tongan-adapted Samoan and Western concepts.

535 The formation of a *ma'ulu'ulu* is one or more curved lines. The front row sits cross-legged, M.II.a.15. on the ground. The remaining rows are elevated in various ways--by kneeling, sitting on chairs or benches, and standing. When the performers of the back row are standing, they move slightly from side to side using the main step of the *lakalaka*, M.II.a.l. The arm movements are the most varied of any of the Tongan dance genres and use any of the morphokines of the M.I. group. Like *fa'ahiula*, the *ma'ulu'ulu* can be described as *'otu haka*, 'row of *haka*' because the aim of the group is to perform with such precision that all the individuals in a row move 'as a machine' giving an impression of a row of *haka*.

●535 Music for the *ma'ulu'ulu* is singing, together with the beating of
533 a modern *nafa*. This *nafa* is a section of a metal barrel with both
[534] sides covered with cowhide. It is hit with sticks covered on the
ends with tapa. From one to four *nafa* may be used and sometimes they are beaten on both ends. The drummers do not all beat the same rhythm and are free to improvise within a 4-pulse framework, particularly during the section where no singing occurs. Usually one drummer begins and the others join with different rhythms resulting in an intricate-sounding beating. The rhythm produced is similar to that of several women beating tapa. When the drums accompany singing they beat a more regular 4-pulse rhythm.

Singing is done by the dancers. If there is only a small group, a chorus may join in singing, but this is not a necessary part of the performance.

The structure of *ma'ulu'ulu* is different from *lakalaka*, although it, too, is divided into three sections. Whereas in *lakalaka* the three sections are internal divisions in the *ta'anga*, in *ma'ulu'ulu* a further three sections are differentiated by singing and not singing.

The first section of *ma'ulu'ulu* is called *haka fakalongolongo*, 'silent *haka*.' The silent here means no singing, for it is during this section that the drums only, in very loud intricate beating, accompany the *haka*. This vigorous beating and *haka* lasts for five minutes or more. *Haka fakalongolongo* uses vigorous staccato movements

535 [533] that reflect the precise beating of the *nafa*. In this section the creativity of the *pulotu haka* is greatly admired. This section uses *haka* from both M.I.a. and M.I.c. groups, usually repeating each [524] morphokine four times in rapid succession. Occasionally this section may be based on movements from daily life, for example, the *haka fakalongolongo* of one *ma'ulu'ulu* was based on *lena*, a children's game where two children face each other and hit each other's open palms. The *haka fakalongolongo* strives to excite both dancers and spectators to the inner exhilaration, *māfana*, ideally created by dance.

535 533 The second section, *haka hiva*, consists of *haka*, softer drum beating, and singing. During this section the *haka*, by allusion, interprets the words of the *ta'anga*. The *ta'anga* is strophic in form—that is, verse and refrain, verse and refrain. The verses need not all have the same melody or even the same number of phrases per verse. Usually the first verse corresponds to the *fakatapu* of a *lakalaka* and the last verse to its *tatau*. There seem to be two models for *ma'ulu'ulu ta'anga*; verse-refrain form from church hymns, and the through-composed form found in *fa'ahiula* and *lakalaka*.

The refrain is called *tau* in Tongan or 'chorus' in English, and it fulfills both functions. It is a chorus in the English sense in that it is repeated after each verse. And it is a *tau* in the Tongan sense in that it is this section where the performers do their best *haka* and are particularly *māfana*. The *haka* of the second section is

535 more restrained than in the *haka fakalongolongo* section and is fit to
533 the poetry phrases in the same ways as in *lakalaka* choreography.

535 The third section is a *haka fakalongolongo*, which is a similar but shortened version of the first.

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[873]
I will give two examples of the structure of *ma'ulu'ulu*. The first is the *ma'ulu'ulu* of Queen Salote College (a secondary school) for girls. The *ta'anga* was composed by Queen Salote and the *fasi* and *haka* by Peni Tutuila who is the individual of greatest reknown for *ma'ulu'ulu* choreography. Often the *ma'ulu'ulu* is performed by all the girls of the school which number over 500. The following description is from a performance for Queen Salote in the Palace grounds on October 29, 1965. On this occasion all the girls of the school brought food to the palace as a going away gift to the Queen and then performed for her. In attendance were only the Queen and her ceremonial attendants (*matāpule*). The girls had practiced daily for several weeks in order to make their movements as perfect--'as one'--as possible. The dance lasted about half an hour and had the following structure (for text see Appendix B)[A]:

A [See category 116, p. 315--Analyst]

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Section I. Haka fakalongolongo (haka and drumming)
Lead drummer used three drums, second drummer used one drum, third drummer used opposite end of one of the drums used by the lead drummer.

Section II. Haka hiva (movements, singing, drumming)

Stanza A	- Verse 1[7]	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^5\ t^6$ (the first time through was fakalaulausiva--singing with no haka)
A		(repeat--with haka)
A		(repeat)
Stanza B	Tau	$t^1\ t^2\ d\ t^3\ t^4\ d\ t^5\ t^6\ d\ t^7\ t^8\ d$ (d here symbolizes drumming and haka without singing)
B		(repeat)
Stanza C	Verse 2	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^5\ t^6\ t^6$
C		(repeat)
Stanza B	Tau	same as above
B		(repeat)
Stanza D	Verse 3	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^5\ t^6\ t^6$
D		(repeat)
Stanza B	Tau	same as above
B		(repeat)
Stanza E	Verse 4	$t^1\ t^2\ t^3\ t^4\ t^5\ t^6\ t^6$
E		(repeat)
Stanza B	Tau	same as above
B		(repeat)
B		(repeat)

Section III. Haka fakalongolongo (shortened version of Section I).

Movement phrases are determined by text phrases.

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[7] Verse 1 takes the place of a fakatapu by saying that it will leave the fakatapu to the matapule.

535 644 At the end of this performance, the Queen sent a message by her *matāpule* to ask them to do it over again "because it warmed her heart."

The second performance lasted about 15 minutes and had the following structure:

Section I. *Haka fakalongolongo*

Section II. *Haka hiva*

Stanza A Verse 1 (*fakaleulauaiva*)
A (*haka* and singing)
C Verse 2
B *Tau*
D Verse 3
D
E Verse 4
B *Tau*

Section III. *Haka fakalongolongo* (shortened version)

535 541 [873] The second example is the *ma'ulu'ulu* of Pilolevu College for girls--the Ha'apai counterpart of Queen Salote College which is in Tongatapu. The *ta'anga*, *fasi*, and *haka* were composed by teachers of Pilolevu College, some of whom had been students at Queen Salote College, and were familiar with the *ma'ulu'ulu* there. This example was composed for the 1962 *katoanga* celebrating 100 years of freedom and has been performed on later occasions. I did not see a formal performance, but four girls did the dance for me, and described the performance. The structure is as follows (for text see Appendix ~~B~~ A)[A]:

A [See category 116, p. 316--Analyst]

535 Section I. Haka fakalongolongo

541 Section II. Haka hiva

538 Stanza A Verse 1 - Fakatapu t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6
533 A (repeat)

Stanza B Tau t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
B (repeat)

Stanza C Verse 2 t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
C (repeat)

Stanza B Tau same as above
B (repeat)

Stanza D Verse 3 t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
D (repeat)

Stanza B Tau same as above
B (repeat)

Stanza E Verse 4 t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8 t^9 t^{10} t^{11} t^{12} t^{13} t^{14}
E (repeat)

Stanza B Tau same as above
B (repeat)

Stanza F Verse 5 - Tatau t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8
F (repeat)

Stanza B Tau same as above
B (repeat)

Section III. Haka fakalongolongo

535 An abstraction of the essential elements of the structure of ma'ulu'ulu shows it to be a haka fakalongolongo, followed by haka hiva, followed by a shortened version of haka fakalongolongo. The essential structure of the ta'anga is one or more kupu, 'verse,' followed by one or more tau, and usually internal divisions into fakatapu, body of the poetry, and tatau.

● 535 If we compare the structure of these *ma'ulu'ulu* with the structure of the previous Tongan genres, we can see that *ma'ulu'ulu*, though supposedly brought from Samoa has prototypes in indigenous Tongan genres for most of its essential features. *Fa'ahiula* can be said to be the main prototype for the *ma'ulu'ulu* genre.

Ma'ulu'ulu like *fa'ahiula* is primarily a women's sitting dance. Men and women occasionally perform the *ma'ulu'ulu* together, and it is also said that men sometimes joined in the *fa'ahiula* (I have not seen this). Performers of *fa'ahiula* sit in a single curved row. When there is a small number of performers in *ma'ulu'ulu*, they, too, sit in a single row. When more performers are added, more rows are added and the dance space resembles a combination of *fa'ahiula* and *lakalaka*
535 performance. Music associated with both *fa'ahiula* and *ma'ulu'ulu*
533 consists of singing by the performers and beating time by one or more
[534] musicians who sit within the curve of the dancers. The *nafa* has replaced the *tafua*, and serves the same function. The pulse organ-
[177] isation of both genres is usually in groups of 4. The *ma'ulu'ulu* is more regular and tends to have a larger pitch range, probably due to
[538] the influence of Western music. In both genres the movements interpret the poetry and are based on the text phrase structure.

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The structure of *fa'ahiula* are quite diverse and include the
533 strophic, verse-refrain structure of the *ma'ulu'ulu* as well as the
538 through-composed structure which has stanzas of different lengths and melodies as some *ma'ulu'ulu* do. In both cases the function of the

535 poetry is to tell a story and the movements to interpret the story.
533 Preceding the poetry of both genres there may be a section of *haka*
538 and drumming without singing. This section is called *tafua* in the *fa'ahiula*. *Tafua* refers to the rolled mat, which is struck to keep time, as well as the *haka* without singing. In *ma'ulu'ulu* this section is called *haka fakalongolongo* which refers to being verbally silent. I would conjecture that both of these terms were originally the dance leader's directions to the dancers--"*tafua*" would be a reminder that the section is with drum only; "*haka fakalongolongo*" would be a reminder that the section is without singing, which of course, is the same. In both genres the *haka hiva* can be preceded by a section called *fakalaulausiva* in which there is singing but no *haka*.

535 The second section of both genres is *haka* which interprets poetry. The third section of *ma'ulu'ulu* is *haka fakalongolongo*. It is said that the third section of *fa'ahiula* could be *tafua*, but this may be a reverse borrowing from *ma'ulu'ulu*.

After a *fa'ahiula* or *ma'ulu'ulu* is performed, the dancers often remain seated and become the *langitu'a* for a succeeding dance based on beauty of movement rather than poetry interpretation--the *ula* and the *tau'olunga* respectively.

Finally either genre may, but need not, be performed on formal occasions. During the era in which *fa'ahiula* was frequently performed the *me'etu'upaki* was the more formal dance type. Today, the era of *ma'ulu'ulu*, the *lakalaka* is the formal dance type.

535 *Ma'ulu'ulu*, like other Tongan genres, has its well known choreographers. The most famous is Peni Tutuila, who choreographs the Queen Salote College *ma'ulu'ulu*. This dance has been seen throughout the world in the Cinerama production, "South Seas Adventure." Students of Peni have choreographed *ma'ulu'ulu* in his style and others have 'stolen' his routines. Peni comes from the island of Uiha in the Ha'apai group of islands, the son of a reknowned female choreographer.

Another exponent of *ma'ulu'ulu* is the Honorable Ve'ehala, noble of Fahefa who is recognized throughout the Kingdom for his knowledge of Tongan traditions including dances--especially *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu*. Several of the Lapaha *pulotu* *haka* also choreograph *ma'ulu'ulu*.

Tafi

A subdivision of *ma'ulu'ulu* is a dance called *tafi*. That is, it is classified as a *ma'ulu'ulu* by many Tongans. The only people I found who do not classify it as a *ma'ulu'ulu* are the people of
[829] Fua'amotu village, and it is they who perform the *tafi*. They say that
[177] *tafi* is a 'real Tongan dance' and not a *ma'ulu'ulu* which came from Samoa. They also say it was originated by Tuku'aho who also originated the *lakalaka*. Tuku'aho was chief of two villages and after he gave
[533] the *lakalaka* to Tatakamotonga he gave the *tafi* to Fua'amotu. When the dance was originated in about the 1890's it is said to have consisted

535 only of drum beating and *haka*. The *haka* dramatized the sweeping
[539] (*tafi*) of the *mala'e*. The *tafi* should be performed first on a dance program to prepare the *mala'e* for the dances which follow. In 1918
535 Tuku'aho added the words to the *tafi*. The poetry is *hiva fakananivi*,
538 'song of fondness or love to a child,' and was written for Tuku'aho's son, Tungi Mailefihi, for the occasion of his marriage to Queen Salote. There are two short stanzas of poetry. Stanza A has 6 phrases of 4 pulses each, and stanza B has 5 phrases of 8 pulses each. They are performed as A A B B, the B stanza being known as the *tau ngahaka*. The overall structure is the same as *ma'ulu'ulu*. That is, first there is a section of *haka fakalongolongo* which dramatizes the *tafi*, 'sweeping of the *mala'e*.' Second there is *haka hiva* consisting of movements, singing, and drumming. Third there is a repetition of the *haka fakalongolongo* section.

535 Tafi can be performed by all men, all women, or both--usually the latter, who sit alternately. It is usually performed by 30 or 40 people sitting in one or two curved rows with the drum in front. In the *tafi* all the performers sit on the ground even if there is more than one row.

535 The performance of *tafi* is not only to *tafi* the dance *mala'e*.
644 The last performance of *tafi* was in 1965 when the present King's oldest son came home for school holidays. The *tafi* was performed at the airport to *tafi* the *mala'e vakapuna* (green where the airplane lands) for the Prince.

535 [541] In the absence of *tafi* as the first dance of a formal occasion, a *ma'ulu'ulu* is often substituted. During the 1962 *katoanga* the first dance on each of the two days was a *ma'ulu'ulu*--the first day, that of Queen Salote College; the second day that of St. Andrews Secondary School. If there is no *ma'ulu'ulu* or *tafi* to perform, the first *lakalaka* of the day is called *tafi mala'e.*

TAU'OLUNGA

Tau'olunga is the informal dance genre, although occasionally it is elevated and performed on semi-formal occasions. It does not, however, take the place of the formal dance type, *lakalaka*.

535 177 *Tau'olunga* is an acculturated dance form consisting of Western, Samoan, and indigenous Tongan elements. Its music is adapted from Western musical traditions. Its name and manner of performance are borrowed from Samoa. Its movements and role are Tongan.

535 [624] [177] [192] In Samoa the *tau'olunga*[8] is performed by the village *taupou* and a *tulafale*, 'talking chief ceremonial attendant.' The girl's graceful movements contrast with the vigorous male movements. The first *tau'olunga* was brought to Tonga from Samoa at the beginning of this century and the words were sung in Samoan. Some of the first performers of the dance in Tonga were Sioape Kaho (son of the noble Tu'i [192] Vakano) and a group under his aegis. Tongan *tau'olunga* is performed

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[8] *Taualuga* in the Samoan language.

535 by one or more female dancers and one or more male dancers known by
[192] the Samoan name, *tulafale*. *Tulafale* in Tongan has no other meaning
than that of a male dancer of *tau'olunga*.

535 Samoan *tau'olunga* use much more leg movement than indigenous
171 Tongan dances. Samoan movements include quick short running steps
that bend the knee after lifting the foot from the ground, and a leg
535 rotation to keep time. Tongan kinemes L_9 (the quick bending of the
[177] knee) and L_8 (leg rotation) are probably borrowings from Samoan
movements that diffused with this dance. L_8 and L_9 are used in
Tongan *tau'olunga*, but in no other Tongan dance genres.

In Samoan, *tau'olunga* designates the last dance on a program. In Tongan, *tau'olunga* is the name of a dance genre based on Samoan dance concepts that are broader than just *tau'olunga*. The word *tau'olunga* in Tongan has a meaning of its own. *Tau'olunga* contrasts as an antonym with *taulalo*. *Tau'olunga* connotes something high in space, while *taulalo* connotes something low in space. *Taulalo* was used in this paper to describe the position of the legs during the t^2 t^3 t^4 phrases of the *ula* genre which uses morphokine M.II.a.7. In contrast to *taulalo*, *tau'olunga* can be used to describe the usual position of the legs in the *tau'olunga* dance genre--that is, the legs are not bent and the body remains high in space. Thus, though *tau'olunga* as a dance name was borrowed from Samoa, it makes sense in the Tongan language when describing the dance genre. Tongan dances

585 are usually not spoken of as individual compositions. Rather, the names of dance genres are usually used as verbs to describe kinds of dance.

Arm movements used in tau'olunga are basically Tongan and, for [171] the most part, are the same as used in other Tongan dance genres. It should be noted, however, that many Samoan and Tongan arm movements are quite similar. There are some arm movements, mainly from group M.I.c. that are not usually used in other Tongan genres, for example, M.I.c.23. The movements are not as diverse as those used in ma'ulu'ulu. The movement emphasis in ma'ulu'ulu is the precise performance of many movements as a team, whereas the emphasis in tau'olunga is on beautiful, graceful movement and on individual interpretation. All the movements used in ula may be used in tau'olunga. The group of movements most frequently used is that of the 'haka,' M.I.a.1., paradigm. Movements that are admired because of precise simultaneous performance such as M.I.c.16. are not necessarily admired in a tau'olunga. Rather, graceful, soft movements based on rotation of the lower arm, R_1, and the flexible extension and flexion of the wrist, W_1 and W_2, have their most characteristic expression in the tau'olunga.

The arm movements of the tulafale are vigorous and virile. They consist almost entirely of slapping and clapping motifs and movements such as M.I.a.24. In addition the tulafale may bend the body forward, hit the ground with the hands or even roll on the ground.

535 Music for the *tau'olunga* is Western acculturated. Guitar and
533 'ukulele, using chords derived from Western music, form the musical
177 background for the singing, which also employs Western intervals and
harmony.

Though originally the model for *tau'olunga* songs may have come
from church hymns, a more recent model is rock-and-roll songs.
Tongans take great delight in fitting *tau'olunga* poetry to melodies
heard on the radio. These melodies may be heard only once or twice
and the remembered version that is eventually fitted to a *tau'olunga*
often has little resemblance to the original, especially when added
to the Tongan preference for singing harmony rather than melody. In
music as in poetry, the obvious is hidden--that is, they allude to
the melody by singing the harmony. Perhaps we can compare the result
to the 'silent theme' tradition or 'bebop' school of American jazz--
though we do not hear the melody, we can 'feel' that the melody is
535 there. On one occasion I was taking a rather long time to learn a
533 *tau'olunga* song. One of my informants told me that she couldn't
177 understand why I had so much trouble when the melody was an American
123 rock-and-roll song called "Honey, Honey." She then sang what she
considered to be an English rendition of the song--which I admit could
have been a rock-and roll song, but, unfortunately, I didn't know
it.

533 Songs that are associated with *tau'olunga* dancing are called
535 *hiva kakala*, 'sweet songs,' and are composed for singing rather than

533 dancing. Such songs are sung at informal kava parties or on any
[535] informal occasion when people get together. *Ta'anga,* the word used
[574] for *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu* poetry implies that the poetry is meant to be sung and accompanied with set actions. This word is not used for *hiva kakala*. Similarly, *fakafasi* which is the verb which describes the adding of the tune to *lakalaka* poetry, is often replaced by *fakatu'ungafasi* when applied to *hiva kakala*. *Fakatu'ungafasi* refers to writing music in the Tongan form of the tonic sol-fa. It is recognized by Tongans that *hiva kakala* can be written this way. The *fasi* of a *ta'anga*, however, cannot be so written because it is not based on Western melodic intervals. The mention of *hiva kakala* does not denote dancing.

535 When *tau'olunga* first came to Tonga it was associated with a
533 particular Samoan song which is still remembered. Songs were then written in Tongan that were integrally associated with *tau'olunga*. Today any *hiva kakala* can be accompanied by *tau'olunga*. Occasionally a song will be written primarily for *tau'olunga*. These, however, still conform to *hiva kakala* type and all are also performed without dancing.

535 *Tau'olunga*, like all Tongan dance, is determined by the phrase
533 structure of the poetry. Even in *hiva kakala* the poetry is the most
538 important. The poetry is composed and then a melody is sought that will go with it. Almost without exception the structure follows the strophic form of verse-refrain of some church hymns. Each verse

535 has the same number of lines, the same pulse organization, and the
[533] same melody. Until quite recently the dancer was also the choreographer.
[538] The dancer choreographed as she danced using the pool of Tongan
recognised dance motifs, that of the movement inventory of every Tongan dancer. These motifs were either learned as tau'olunga motifs or as motifs learned and used in other Tongan genres, and adapted to the rhythm of hiva kakala.

535 The structure of a typical hiva kakala-tau'olunga performance
533 is as follows (an example of tau'olunga, Hala Vuna, is included in
538 Appendix B)[A]:

Section I. Introduction (Usually this is the tau performed as instrumental music only and used as an entrance for the dancer.

Section II. Haka hiva (music, singing, and haka)

Stanza A Verse 1
A repeat

Stanza B Tau
B repeat

Stanza C Verse 2
C repeat

Stanza B Tau
B repeat

Stanza D Verse 3
D repeat

Stanza B Tau

Section III. Fakataupasi

Stanza B Tau (considerably faster)

A [See category 116, p. 317--Analyst]

535 The *tulafale* is not a necessary part of a *tau'olunga* performance in Tonga, but when included, his vigorous movements throw the graceful movements of the female dancer into sharp relief because of their contrast. When a *tulafale* is part of the performance, usually Section I is his solo. In such case, the *tulafale* enters the dance space and performs his virile movements usually for one or two repetitions of the *tau*. The female dancer enters during Section II, sometimes after the singing has already started. The *māfana* movements of the *tulafale* makes the female dancer also *māfana* and makes it easier for her and the spectators to enter into the spirit of the dance.

By the end of the dance, even the female dancers are so *māfana* that they no longer perform their graceful *haka*. Section III, the *fakataupasi*, is a section where just slapping and clapping movements are performed. Although slapping and clapping movements can be performed during any part of *tau'olunga*, they are particularly characteristic of the last section.

When there is no pre-arranged *tulafale*, one or more men (or women who act as *tulafale*) may enter the dance space at any time. They may join in for two reasons--either to encourage the dancer or because the dancer has made them, as spectators, so *māfana* that they, too, must physically join in.

Until about the last twenty years the *tau'olunga* did not have set movements. Instead the dancer choreographed as she danced. Most

535 *tau'olunga* at the informal level are still performed in this way. The dancer just dances 'making up' the movements as she goes along, choosing movements from her own dance-movement inventory. Some dancers are recognised as being particularly creative in the use of a large inventory of movements. These dancers are usually those who have taken part in other dance genres.

535 178 Within the past twenty years it has become increasingly popular to choreograph *tau'olunga*, and some of these pieces have been elevated to semi-formal status. This has occurred for three reasons:

1) the lack of knowledge about Tongan dance among the younger generation,
2) the increasing popularity of the dance,
3) the patronage of the dance type by Queen Salote.

Knowledge of Tongan dance has attenuated to such a degree among the younger generation that many have never heard of *fa'ahiula*, *ula*, or *me'etu'upaki*, much less seen any. Those who have seen these dance types say they are too slow and uninteresting. They also dislike the chant-like quality of the accompanying music that is associated with the ancient genres, preferring instead the fast, Westernized music of the *tau'olunga*. Because the younger generation do not know the old dance genres they do not know the movements that are characteristic of them. I have seen some *tau'olunga* dancers perform a whole dance using only '*haka*' M.I.a.l., paradigm movements and slapping and clapping movements characteristic of the *fakataupasi* third section.

535 Although these are *tau'olunga* movements par excellence--variation as
178 well as personal interpretation are the marks of a good *tau'olunga*.
This small movement inventory of recall of most younger dancers has
595 led to the practice of choreographing the *tau'olunga*. Choreographed
tau'olunga are recognized as the easiest type of Tongan dance,
because there are usually no more than six short sections to learn.
These are:

1) the entrance into the dance space, which is usually one or two arm motifs such as M.I.c.4. and M.I.c.8. with forward walking steps, M.II.a.4.,
2) the *tau* or chorus, which is repeated alternately with the several stanzas,
3-5) movements for three (more or less) stanzas,
6) *fakataupasi* slapping clapping motifs for the last repetition of the *tau*.

A well choreographed *tau'olunga* can make a poor dancer appear to be much better than she is because of the varied and appropriate movements taught to her by the choreographer.

Tau'olunga has become more and more popular because it is easy
to do and it leaves a wide latitude for personal interpretation--which
[868] can range from grace and beauty to wantonness. Children grow up with
the *tau'olunga* and thus it is not necessary to consciously 'learn'
[189] anything except the sequence of movements. In recent years Tongans
have picked up the idea that time is money, and the less they must

535 practice, the better they like it. They prefer to do *tau'olunga* which
183 requires little practice rather than *lakalaka* or *ma'ulu'ulu* which
require a great deal.

535 The late Queen Salote was a great supporter of all Tongan dance
643 including the *tau'olunga*. She was one of the first to choreograph
tau'olunga with set movements. One of the most famous *hiva kakala*,
Manu 'o Palataise, 'Bird of Paradise,' was composed by Queen Salote
535 specifically for *tau'olunga*. The Queen used *tau'olunga* as a form of
643 entertainment for dignitaries visiting Tonga. When traveling abroad
648 the Queen often took with her a dancer of *tau'olunga* to perform for
'cultural' events in other countries. Thus the *tau'olunga* has become
equated with 'Tongan dance' in other countries and with 'entertainment'
to the Tongans. The entertainment can vary from a very informal level
535 to a level befitting a head of state. *Tau'olunga*, like ballroom
dancing are forms of entertainment which one can either join or watch.
Other Tongan dance genres are *faiva*--that is, performances that have
a deeper meaning than just entertainment. *Tau'olunga* is classified
535 as *faiva* when 'performance with *haka*' is meant. However, if *faiva*
186 is used at a more specific level to mean 'performances which uphold
and reflect Tongan traditions,' *tau'olunga* must be excluded in most
[648] cases. *Ma'ulu'ulu* and even *lakalaka* are occasionally used as entertainment for people who are not familiar with Tongan traditions, but
to the Tongans these genres have a deeper meaning.

535 The most reknowned choreographers of *tau'olunga* are the late
Queen Salote, the Honorable Ve'ehala, Peni Tutuila, Kefu and his son

535 Tu'ialo, Vaisima, and several other Lapaha *pulotu haka*. Most of these individuals are also known for their choreography of other dance genres. Except for Queen Salote, all of these choreographers are [538] men. All work according to the words of a *hiva kakala*. As in *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu*, the movements of *tau'olunga* interpret or allude to the poetry at its most apparent level. When setting the movements for a *tau'olunga*, however, the choreographer also takes into consideration who will perform the dance. *Tau'olunga* are usually choreographed with specific people, or specific occasions, in mind. A choreographer may re-choreograph a *tau'olunga* if it is to be performed by a different person. The same *hiva kakala* can also be choreographed by different choreographers using quite different movements. For example there are many *haka* versions of the *hiva kakala*, '*Hala Vuna*.'

The original version of *Hala Vuna* was composed for Tu'imala, one of the five best contemporary *tau'olunga* dancers, and the sororal niece of Vaisima. Tu'imala is well known for her unchoreographed renditions of *tau'olunga*, and she has also choreographed *tau'olunga*. When Tu'imala choreographs, she uses mainly *tau'olunga* motifs, but when Vaisima choreographs he also uses 'classic' motifs characteristic 535 of *ula*. When such a *tau'olunga* is performed by Tu'imala, the result 538 is a combination of beautiful movements that interpret poetry in the traditionally accepted way, with the personal interpretation of an individual skilled in interpreting motifs in the dignified and yet risque manner so admired by the Tongans for this dance genre. The

535 poetry of '*Hala Vuna*' tells of the sights to see, hear, and smell in
538 Nuku'alofa and implies that Tu'imala is a representative of the females of that village.[9] The overall structure follows the example on page 289. Many of the M.I.c. group of movements are used in a narrative manner in Vaisima's *haka* version, interspersed with *ula* motifs used to complete the phrases of poetry. Only a few of the movements of the '*haka*,' M.I.a.l. paradigm are used in this dance.

535 The occasions of *tau'olunga* performance run the gamut of all Tongan social occasions. There may be a risque rendition at a moonlight picnic leading to a love meeting of dancer and a *māfana* spectator; there may be unchoreographed *tau'olunga* at an informal gathering to drink kava; there may be choreographed examples at a concert to raise money for a church (in such case the money is tucked in the dancer's clothing or hair while she dances); a dancer personally chosen by the Queen may perform after a feast for a visiting dignitary. The movements express joy and exhilaration and seek to excite the hearts of the spectators.

SUMMARY

Tongan dance can be divided into six genres, three of which are 'living' and three of which are 'dead but extant.' The six genres differ from each other in that each has a different combination of

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[9] For text see Appendix B.

595 several elements both internal and external to dance movement itself. These elements are:

1) Overall structure of a total performance
    a) sections
    b) stanzas
    c) phrases
2) Associated music
    a) instruments
    b) pitch range of vocal music
    c) pulse and tempo
3) Relation of movements to poetry
4) Movement
    a) frequently recurring morphokines
    b) prescribed and proscribed morphokines
    c) choreography
5) Performers
    a) number
    b) sex and age
    c) arrangement of dancers
    d) position (sitting or standing)
6) Occasion of performance.

All of these elements are integrally related, and it is difficult to talk about a single element in isolation. Often one element must be explained by another. Still it is helpful to isolate these elements

535 at an abstract level and summarize them in chart form. Needless to say, these are not hard and fast categories.

The type of dance to be presented depends mainly on occasion of
performance. *Fa'ahiula*, *ula*, and *me'etu'upaki* can be called 'dead
[643] but extant' genres and are performed only on special occasions. Their
[644] performance serves to isolate symbolically the Tu'i Tonga, Lapaha,
[795] Catholic division of the society. Besides celebrations peculiar to
this group of people, the only other time the 'dead but extant' genres are performed is by special request usually to display the traditional nature of Tongan dance.

On formal occasions the characteristic dance genre is *lakalaka*. *Lakalaka*, with formal speech making components, functions as a speech, the dancers delivering the speech together. The speech orally pays allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga, and visually reflects and sanctions the hierarchical ranking of persons based on social status. On formal occasions *ma'ulu'ulu*, too, may serve this speech making function. Or the performance of a *ma'ulu'ulu* as the initial dance on a formal occasion may serve to '*tafi* the *mala'e*' in preparation for *lakalaka* to follow.

On occasions in which the significant dimension is entertainment the *tau'olunga* dance genre is most frequently used. When *ma'ulu'ulu* are used on such occasions, the entertaining feature derives from the perfect execution of the precise, varied movements.

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Ma'ulu'ulu	Tau'olunga
Usually verse-refrain	Verse-refrain
Three sections First section may be fakalaulausiva; always haka fakalongolongo Second Section is haka hiva May have three internal divisions into fakatapu, body of poetry, tatau Third section haka fakalongolongo	Entrance prelude of music without singing Haka hiva Fakataupasi Each verse has same melody and length Tau refrain follows each verse
Nafa (skin drum)	String band
Medium	Large
4, medium and fast	Varied, fast
Interprets words Reflects drum beating	May interpret Movements for beauty
M.I.a.l. most frequent Any arm morphokine may be used	M.I.a.l. most frequent Variation admired None prescribed or proscribed
Specially choreographed Aim to move 'as one'	Choreographed or imporvized
Many (all of specified group)	Usually 1 to 8
Usually women, occasionally men and women; all ages	Women and male tulafale All ages
Curved rows	Usually rows, but can be any arrangement
Sitting (back rows gradually elevated)	Standing Mobile
Formal and semi-formal	Informal and semi-formal

[P.298-C]

535 TABLE 4. STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF SIX TONGAN DANCE GENRES
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Element	Fa'ahiula
1) Overall structure of a total performance	Varied through-composed verse-refrain by phrases First section may be tafua may be fakalaulausiva Second section haka hiva
a) sections	
b) stanzas	
c) phrases	
2) Associated music	
a) instruments	Tafua (rolled mat)
b) pitch range of vocal music	Small
c) pulse organization, tempo	4 or 8, slow
3) Relation of movements to poetry	Interprets words
4) Movement	
a) frequently recurring morphokines	Touching, clapping, M.I.a.1., M.I.a.2.
b) prescribed-proscribed morphokines	Some proscribed
c) choreography	Traditional
5) Performers	
a) number	Many
b) sex, age	Usually women, old or middle aged
c) arrangement of dancers	Curved row
d) position (sitting or standing)	Seated
6) Occasion of performance	Catholic gatherings Special request

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Ula	Me'etu'upaki	Lakalaka
One stanza of two phrases repeated throughout	Through-composed by stanzas Each stanza repeated -. .	Through-composed in stanzas Three sections First section corresponds to fakatapu and may be fakalaulausiva Second section tells story Third section corresponds to tatau
Tafua	Nafa (slit log gong)	None
Small	Small	Medium
6 or 8, slow	Varied, slow	Varied, medium
Does not interpret Movements for beauty	Hypothesize that they interpret	Interprets words
M.I.a.2. Definite inventory Others proscribed	Paki used in hands Definite inventory Others proscribed	M.I.a.1. for arms M.II.a.1., M.II.a.2., M.II.a.3. only for legs
Traditional	Traditional	Specially choreographed Aim to move 'as one'
8, 6, 4, 2, (or today as a solo)	Many	Many (all of specified group)
Women, young	Men, young or middle aged	Men and woman All adults
One row	Straight rows Formations change	Straight rows
Standing	Standing	Standing (special sections may be seated)
Catholic gatherings Traditional Tongan Special request	Catholic gatherings Special request	Formal

[P.298-B]

535 From the explanations in this chapter and their summary in chart form, it is possible to isolate the essential and distinctive features of Tongan dance genres. It can also be seen that the 'living' dance genres, *lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu* with its variant *tafi*, and *tau'olunga*, although reputedly created by Tongans or diffused from Samoā during the past century, are closely related to *fa'ahiula*, *ula*, and *me'etu'upaki*. We can postulate that there is a close genetic relationship between the 'living' and the 'dead but extant' genres. The new dances are merely creative recombinations of structural elements from the kinemic, morphokinemic and motif levels of dance organization and their association with music and poetry. Such recombination of existing elements is perhaps most basic to all Tongan dance innovation.

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

535 THE STRUCTURE OF TONGAN DANCE

Tongan dance structure can be analyzed by division into four levels of organization--kinemic, morphokinemic, motif, and genre. One could argue, especially from the Western point of view, that I have skipped the important level of the individual composition. This level, however, is not relevant in Tongan dance. An individual's repertoire typically consists of one example from two or three dance genres. They do not speak of performing a particular composition and they seldom use the genre name as a noun. Rather, using the name as [829] a verb, they would speak of performing the genre. The Tongan way of separating individual compositions is by the village or the individuals who perform them.

Kinemic Level

The first level of Tongan dance organization is the kinemic. This level has been shown to have 47 units which are the basic components in the dance tradition of Tonga. These units, which are positions or small units of motion, can be divided into three groups based on the part of the body which produces them--arms, legs, and head. The movement or position of other body parts such as torso or hips are not significant at this level of analysis of Tongan dance. Each of the 47 kinemes may have several allo-kines which may vary

535 physiologically but are considered the 'same' or a 'variant' by 'native speakers' of the dance tradition. Individually the kinemes do not have meaning, the requirement for their isolation is that they are considered to be 'different' by Tongans.

Morphokinemic Level

The second level of Tongan dance organization is the morphokinemic. Morphokines are unique sequences of kinemes that are recognized by the Tongans to have 'meaning' as movement. 'Meaning' at this level does not imply that morphokines are narrative or interpretive. Tongan morphokines can be grouped in four large classes which can be internally subdivided.

The first large class of morphokines uses arm kinemes and can be divided into three subclasses. The first subclass is a group of active hand and lower arm (nima) movements (M.I.a.) which can be performed in a number of different environments. The second subclass is a group of the environments (M.I.b.) in which the lower arm movements occur and consists of combinations of arm positions and palm facings. This was found to be an economic way to treat these morphokines, for if the two groups were combined into one class it would have been necessary to delineate several thousand morphokines. One morphokine alone was found to vary in 1056 ways, but by classing the morphokines in the system devised it was possible to delineate only 17 morphokines and still account for all the 1056 variations. The third sub-class is a group which includes lower arm movements and the position in which they occur--these morphokines cannot be subdivided without destroying their meaning.

The second large class of morphokines uses leg kinemes, and can be divided into two subclasses. The first subclass uses leg kinemes only (M.II.a.). The second subclass consists of various combinations of leg, hand, and touching kinemes (M.II.b.).

The third class of morphokines is a single head movement, which is the lone head kineme. This side head tilt is meaningful as a movement and used instead of hand movements in prescribed places in Tongan dance.

The fourth class of morphokines consists of a group of body and head movements which are not significant at the kinemic level but are important at the morphokinemic level. These movements do not occur alone but are part of the bodily environment of a dance performance.

The four morphokine classes co-occur in only specified ways. Each morphokine has a unique internal structure based on a sequential combination of kinemes. The external distribution of morphokines for Tongan dance is most economically handled in terms of morphokine classes and subclasses.

Motif Level

The third level of Tongan dance structure is the motif level. A motif is a frequently occurring combination of morphokines that forms a short entity in itself. Motifs, although not named, are word-associated, and can be used either to interpret poetry or to create beauty. The Tongan cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement is manifest in dance motifs.

Genre Level

The fourth level of dance organization in Tonga is the structure of dance types. A Tongan dance is a totality of structural elements in standardized sequential order which differ according to genre. At the genre level it is necessary to speak of the overall structure of a performance, the association of poetry with movement, the accompanying music, and the occasion of performance in addition to dance movement itself. There are six Tongan dance genres, each of which has a different combination of the structural elements. The three 'living' Tongan dance genres, although reputedly created or diffused in historic times, are closely related to the three 'dead but extant' genres. Indeed, the living genres seem to be recombinations of elements from the kinemic, morphokinemic and motif levels, and their association with music and poetry.

The six genres that are performed today are of three main types based on their occasion of performance--that is, whether it be special, formal, or for entertainment.

The three 'dead but extant' genres are performed only on special occasions peculiar to a single village, societal division, and religion or if specially requested.

535 Formal occasions call for *lakalaka*, which, in effect, take the place of a speech. *Lakalaka* today are the embodiment of Tongan traditions and express them both audibly and visually. *Ma'ulu'ulu* may serve the speech-making function or may sweep the *mala'e* in preparation for the *lakalaka* 'speeches.'

Tau'olunga is the informal dance genre used for entertainment, for small groups of friends, for the King and Queen of Tonga, or for visiting dignitaries. Occasionally *ma'ulu'ulu* is also used as entertainment because its appealing combination of indigenous Polynesian and Western elements, coupled with its precise varied movements, makes it at once familiar and yet exotic to Tongan and foreigner alike.

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METHODOLOGICAL APPRAISAL

The aim of this dissertation was to devise a method to analyze the structure of dance. Ethnoscientific in orientation, the further requirement was set that it should reflect dance movements as known and performed by the carriers of the dance tradition themselves. The method devised borrows from several disciplines. The first two levels of analysis, kinemic and morphokinemic, are based on structural analysis as used in linguistics, which by induction seeks to discover units and patternings valid in terms of a particular system. The movement units isolated at these two basic levels were derived by contrastive analysis comparable to methods used to isolate phonemes and morphemes in speech.

124 verbalized level being only if movements were the same, different,
126 or variants, and how they could be designated.

123 I have not presented all Tongans' view of dance, or one Tongan's
121 view of dance, or even an agreement of several Tongans' view of dance.
Any of these three would be impossible in Tonga. Very few Tongans
535 have seen all dance types and even fewer can perform all of them.
[644] Those who know the most about dance are the people who live in
Lapaha where all six types of dance are performed--but not by all the
124 people. This method can be criticized on the the grounds that I have
used so-called 'well-informed informants,' and it is true that I have.
But this was necessary, as only individuals who were sufficiently
familiar with a genre were able to tell me what dimensions were
emically relevant within it.

121 The method does not disregard ambiguity, but emphasizes that ambiguity exists. There is variation in all the kinemes, and the boundaries between some are arbitrary. This is complicated by the fact that, especially for arm positions, what contrasts in one dance genre might not contrast in another dance genre.

The units were derived by observing what dancers did, asking them what they did, forming hypotheses about what was significant, and testing the hypotheses by performing. The elements that were claimed by Tongans to be insignificant, however, were not disregarded, but an attempt was made to present them without violating the Tongans' concepts about their dance as far as these could be ascertained, 124 hence the 'non-emic' categories and the complications of the head movement existing in both emic and non-emic categories.

121 The method does not oppose 'etic' and 'emic' analysis, but shows that they complement each other. The existence of non-emic movements shows that the two forms of analysis must proceed side by side. For even though some aspects of dance are judged to be non-significant to the holders of the tradition, they are important for an objective description of the dance from an observer's point
121 of view and essential for any cross-cultural comparison. It is easy
535 for an observer to divide a ma'ulu'ulu into sections because the sections are differentiated by singing and not singing. But it is not easy to divide the ta'anga into sections because the divisions are not visually or audibly apparent--the sections instead being differentiated by internal divisions in the poetry that are culturally
121 defined. As Edward Sapir has noted, an outside observer, "will utterly fail to observe the crucial turning points in the course of action that give formal significance to the whole" (1949, p. 547).

Descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethnographer's point of view can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves. Only by using both points of view can we achieve any real understanding of dance as human behavior.

The analysis of Tongan dance presented here is methodological in that it develops a method for the analysis of dance structure. It

121 is ethnoscientific in that it seeks to isolate and describe what the Tongans recognize as significant in their dance. And it is theoretical in that it presents a model for understanding Tongan dance and my theory of Tongan dance.

Analyses of this sort suggest several future possibilities. We can state precisely how one movement (or motif or genre) differs from any other. We can make a componential analysis of morphokines using kinemes as components. We can analyze whole dances of the several genres statistically and state precisely how each genre differs from others by the relative frequency of kinemes, morphokines, or motifs used. Analysing several related dance traditions, we can state in which dimensions they are the same or different.
535 For example, many of the arm movements in the dance traditions of
171 Tonga and Samoa are quite similar. I would hypothesize that one difference is the relatively greater frequency of the rotation of the lower arm in Tongan dance as opposed to a greater frequency of
121 the flexion and extension of the wrist in Samoan dance. Perhaps even studies similar to linguistic glottochronology can be made using the basic inventories of dance movements in related cultures. This, in turn, can be used as independent evidence in studies of culture history, which is presently based mainly on archaeology, linguistics, and botany. Most important, however, it makes it possible to say something precise about dance with terms and concepts that are meaningful to anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and others who are

APPENDIX B.

TONGAN POETRY REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

539 Ta'anga Me'etu'upaki

535 He 'oie 'oi e kama'u ka mau e kau savoli mo tuilolua (t^1)
533 'I o e o nai valu e o nai valu ē, (t^2)
Fotu mai falike tolua e ia ka se ie kase (t^3)

He kau sa tū ūli ē i e au e (t^4)

'O latu latu e
Pei tonga mu'a kae tokelau ia
'I 'i a, 'I 'i a. (t^1)
Paleki pala puileva
Kae liua manu oleva
Kae takoi e lenga'uta ia
'I 'i a, 'I 'i a. (t^2)

'O tapu tea tapu tea mai uia mala maile tai (t^1)
'Ou sulu ia lau penga tuia uia mala maile uia. (t^2)

Lau ta ē lauta ē lauta ē, siki poi e, he siki poi e, he siki poi e (t^1)
Si ke 'olunga ma'a tu foe ma'u e tata malie, he siki poi e, siki poi e (t^2)

Amu mai fai mai tapu la e maile tai (t^1)
He velo e sila, talava e, Vaka e suva, kite fanua, (t^2)
Tafe a mai fea he fusi e lanumea (t^3)
Tafea ki Uvea 'o akatu. (t^4)

Toru mo tekau ke tu'a tafa faka hakea 'i ai tevaka (t^1)
He tapu mo si mo longo te vai fa lonai ae (t^2)
Fakapakupaku pasipasi mai futuna katoa e 'i a 'o e. (t^3)

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Lakalaka 'ae Lomipeau

This example of lakalaka is known as Kalauni. It is from the village of Lapaha.

Fakatapu

Tapu moe Kalauni e Fomia
'Oku fakamalu 'a Lalo mo'uta
Laukau'anga o Tonga ki tu'a
He ai 'etau fatungamotu'a
'O tukunga tomu 'ete fiefia
Kei tangitangi 'ae mo'onia
'O moto 'a 'ofa 'i he maheni
Ko hoto kahoa fakataukei.
Ne'ine'i ā taka ē matangi
'O fakahoha'asi e 'Otu Langi
He mafola 'a hono ongoongo
Lea 'ae Toa vaha'a-kolo.

Lakalaka Proper

'Uoi 'Uoi 'Uoi he koe folau
'Oku hua liliu 'i Hakau-tapu
'Oku 'ai lā fakamamumanu
Angina he afu 'oe Tokelau
Mapaki e Hea tongi ehe Manu
Lui'a 'i Longolongo folau.

Tau ngahaka

Kulukona 'o tavake fai'ana
Na'e toli he matangi Mafana
Kohai 'e Ofo he 'ene ngangatu
Fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu
He 'oiaue fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu.

He 'Oku 'ilo 'eha fine Fuoloa
'Ae fā he liku 'o Maluhola
Fio Heilala Tatakamotonga
He Kaloni 'oe Manu launoa
He fakama'unga 'o Nuku'alofa.
(this verse continues
in the next column)

Ta'ahine tu'u hake 'o teu
Kae taku keu luva 'eau
'Ae faka'ilonga Tuitu'u
Metali 'e pitoi ngalau
He teunga ki ha po fetau
Lafitani 'oe Lomipeau.

'Isa 'oku hanu 'a 'Ana-matangi
Mo Kolongahau hono li'aki.

Ta ku ngalo 'apē kinaua
He naua 'oe Uafu ko Vuna.

Launoa pe he'ena 'ofa
Ka he puli e Kava 'i Atatā
'Oku Fotu 'o hangē kae la'a
Fai'anga 'oe Patapata.

Tatau

Pei'eva he funga 'o māmani
Ka ko 'ofa te tau fehokotaki.

539 Ta'anga Mā'ulu'ulu 'a e Kolisi ke Kuini Salote

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Tukuange pē tala 'a Lo'au
644 Ki he fakafeangai 'o e Hau
Hehenga si'ete fakakaukau
533 'O fekumi na'a ma'u ha feau
'O e loto kuo kafo he manatu
He 'aho ni mo hono feingatau
He 'aho ni mo hono feingatau.

This verse is a *fakatapu* by implication rather than statement. It says in effect, that Queen Salote (who composed it) is not going to bother with a *fakatapu*, but leave that to her *matapule*.

Ko e si tenga 'a e fefine
Faka'anau ki he mo ē
Kia Hikule'o mo hono fale
Mo e ivi 'o Fai mālie
Ke fetaki nima he 'aho ko ē
Tu'u ai e palā tavake
Tu'u ai e palā tavake.

Nafualu e hoko mo Toloa
'Ae hikihiki atu e fononga
Kumi e mafua tuha e kuonga
Kate nofo pē 'o le'o koloa
Fetu'utakinga 'o Nuku'alofa
Nunu'anga 'o e kakala hingoa
Nunu'anga 'o e kakala hingoa.

Pilolevu e Siu'ilikutapu
To'o ualulu mo e laulau
Ha'ofia 'a e hema mo mata'u
Kano e hala tuku kia au
Ka li ha pulu pea hapo atu
He ko 'eku kai fakatalutalu
He ko 'eku kai fakatalutalu.

Tau ngahaka

Hake 'a tahi na 'o hifo mo'uta
'Eva he laka 'o matafonua
Fuifui afe 'i Halaevalu
Fotuaki mai e ta'u teau
'Ise'isa e 'ete māfana
Tukupāninga e fakahuafa
'Oku tuku ko 'ete fakama'unga.

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Mā'ulu'ulu 'a Pilolevu College

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Fakatapu

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Tulou he takafalu he Lupe
Mo e 'Aloua 'i he mala'e
Pupunga fo'ou ne hopo hake
Māhangalei 'a Felenite
Fai'anga ia 'o e vakē
'A e tangata mo e fefine.

Mā'ulu'ulu proper

Holo e matanga kau lea atu
'Ete fiefia he fakamanatu
'Ae kakato ta'u 'e teau
'Ae Tau'atāina mei hono fa'u
Be fiaju ;e he 'Uluaki Hau
'I he tahavalu ono ua 'oe ta'u
Lave ai koe lave ai au
'Ofa ke tolonga ki he pā'anga ngalu.

Ako e manatu ke kuonga mu'a
He kuonga 'o e nofo pōpula
Nofo hopoate ki he ma'olunga
Pule 'i he nofo 'i fale mo tu'a
Tangi lo'imata ai si'i tu'a
Ko hou'eiki mo hono tu'unga
Ko e 'ofa eni ne kilukilua
Faka-Tohitapu mo Faka-'Otua.

'Otu Ha'apai tefua ki Pangai
'Epoki Koula kuo ta 'iai
Senituli 'eni ne tuku ki Langi
Ko e ma'alali ki he fonua ni
Tau'atāina kuo ta 'iai.
Tukulaumea Tu'i Ha'apai.
Na'e to 'i he 'Otu Ha'apai
'Ae poto na'e fakalangamai
He langafonua 'ae 'Uluaki
Lotu mo e Ako ko hono fungani
'O 'alaha 'i hotau fonua ni
Taufa'āhau 'oku e'a mai
Pilolevu 'ena 'oku ne sila'i
Koe tūkunga ke fa'aitaki.

Tatau

Te u ngata hē kau foki au
Na'a lau kuou fiemā'unā'u
Ka ko 'oku fiefia pē 'aku
Kuou lele mai 'o tali fekau
Ki hā'ele 'a e Hau
He 'aho ni te u hopo 'o kakau
Ko hoku tu'unga ko e laukau
'I he 'Aho 'oku ta fakamanatu.

Tau

He aho ni te u tu'u 'o tuē, tuē.
Fanga-'i-he-SĪ keke mē'ite
Lea'aetohi kei tu'u pē
Ko e fakama'unga 'o e Talite
Tau'akipulu ko ho 'Aho e
Pea fakamo'oni he Laione
'Oku kei kapa 'a si'i Lupe
Pea kei Tongo 'a e Tonga pē.

539 *Hala Vuna* (this is an example of *hiva kakala* used for *tau'olunga*)

535 Hala Vuna 'oku_tapa sio'ata
Fetaulaki 'ai_ē folau vaka
533 Loka munu ai ē pou 'umata
Sia-a-Hina mo 'ene kato kakala.

Evenui ko Hala Tupoulahi
Fenukesu ki he vunga moe ahi
Pongia i he Fasimoeafi
Hengihengi pea matala masani.

Tulituli mai mu'a ke to ō
O 'eva i he hala Vaha'akolo
Tu'u si'i ke ha fakafanongo
Fu'ifu'i 'oku kapa i Moheofo.

Tau

Teki puna siete Tavake oma
A nakita pea te fakanonoa
Faka'amu 'ae Tokelau Tonga
Ke po tatala i loto Nuku'alofa.

Oral Traditions

An Appraisal of their Value in Historical Research in Tonga

SIONE LATUKEFU

IN THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH WHICH I WAS CARRYING OUT IN TONGA TOWARDS 124
the end of 1964 and the beginning of 1965 I recorded, among other oral 114
testimonies, a good collection of oral traditions from the chiefs and people
of Tonga, and in particular, Her Majesty the late Queen Sālote, at that
time the living authority on these matters.

In Tonga oral traditions are preserved by social classes and by the 538
major socio-political units of society as well as by families. Oral traditions 533
may take the form of stories, told or sung, relating the heroic deeds of
clan founders or important historical personages. There are family titles
with stories of their origins and of those who succeeded to them, in some
cases tracing back to the 14th and 15th centuries. Place names, proverbial
sayings, songs[1] and traditional ceremonial mats have historical events associated with them which are still known. There are songs, sometimes accompanied by dances, which relate ritual or historical events. At Kolovai, where 533
I come from, we perform a *lakalaka*, a dance performed by lines of men 535
and women and accompanied by singing. This *lakalaka*, known as *milolua*, [114]
relates how to carry out the ceremony of kava making. At Lifuka, in
Ha'apai, I recorded a *lakalaka* which recounts the feats of the celebrated
King George who defeated the *Tu'i Tonga* at the war of Velata, fought in
1825-1826.

The traditions are kept mainly by the chiefs of the social group concerned or by their *Kau-matāpule* (attendants). Both men and women of chiefly 814
rank may know the traditions but there are no formal keepers of traditions [565]
as in some African societies. In Tonga certain individuals are especially [554]
well informed, and they may be referred to as *tangata 'ilo* (or *fefine 'ilo* if a
woman) meaning 'one who knows'. Certain social classes have knowledge of
particular traditions, as for instance the *Ha'atufunga* class which knows all
the ceremonial and traditional lore concerned with the burial of kings and
chiefs. The major socio-political units also preserve certain traditions, such
as the rituals and ceremonials connected with the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* royal
dynasty, which are kept by the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*.

The controversy over the value of oral traditions is well known and 121

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[1] See J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. M. Wright [113]
(London, 1965), 51-2.

[472 cont.]

175 123 before me, and took that opportunity of running off. My friend
[648] joined me immediately; and we concluded, that if there was
something treacherous or vicious in the behaviour of this fellow,
our separation was also imprudent, because it had furnished him
with an opportunity to exercise his talents. We continued strolling
about for some time, without [473] any sinister accident, and returned,
to the trading-place on the beach, where we found almost all the
175 people whom we had left. Many of them were now seated in different
571 little groups, which appeared to be so many separate families, and
[517] consisted of persons of various ages and sexes. They were all in
conversation, of which no doubt the arrival of our ships furnished
the topics; and many of their women amused themselves either with
175 singing or playing at ball. There was a young girl in particular,
142 whose features were more regular than common, her eyes sparkling
302 with vivacity, her whole frame admirably proportioned, and, what
was most remarkable here, her long jetty hair hanging down in
175 graceful curls on her neck. This girl, lively and easy in all her
524 actions, played with five gourds, of the size of small apples,
perfectly globular; she threw them up into the air one after another
continually, and never failed to catch them all with great dexterity,
175 at least for a quarter of an hour. The musical ladies again performed
533 the same tune which we had already heard at Ea-oowhe, the different
184 voices falling in with each other very harmoniously, and sometimes
175 joining all together as in chorus. Though I never saw the natives
● 535 of these islands dance, yet we may add this amusement to the list
292 of those which they are acquainted with, from their own accounts
124 439 and gestures whenever they sold us their aprons made of stars of

175 [473 cont.]
535 of coco-nut core, and ornamented with shell-work and red feathers,
124 or such [474] as were curiously wrought of mats in resemblance of
[292] [439] fretwork. From these gestures I have great reason to suppose that
[171] their dances are of a dramatic kind, and public, like those which
175 I have spoken of in the Society Isles, (See pag. 398). Schouten
171 and Le Maire likewise strongly confirm this supposition by their
[535] account of the dances at Horne Island (24). It appeared, upon
the whole, that the customs and language of these islanders have a great affinity with those of the Taheitians, and that it would not therefore be very singular to find a coincidence even in their amusements. The greatest differences between these two tribes, who must have originated from the same stock, seem to be owing to the different nature of their islands. The Society Isles are well furnished with wood, and the tops of their mountains are still
[311] covered with inexhaustible forests. At the Friendly Isles this
[137] article is much scarcer, the surface (at least of those which we
[342] have seen) being almost entirely laid out in plantations. The natural
consequence is, that the houses are lofty and of immense extent in the first group of islands; but much smaller and less convenient in
[501] the last. In one the canoes are numerous, I may almost say innumerable,
and many of a vast size, and, in the other, very few in number, and
175 much smaller. The mountains of the Society Isles continually attract
171 the vapours from the atmosphere, and many rivulets descend [475]
312 from the broken rocks into the plain, where they wind their serpentine
course and glide smoothly to the sea. The inhabitants of those islands take advantage of this gift of bountiful nature, and not

24. See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages, vol. II. p. 47.

857 were throwing a stone. The end of the *fau* bark held in the hand is
524 released and the arrow shoots off to a great distance.

A bow and arrow game, *gahau*, is played with a very slender, supple *kaho* stick. The bow is made from a stout orange stick.

For the boys' game of *maka ta*, an implement very much like the modern slingshot is used. The bark of tapa or *fau* is used for the sling and a small pebble for ammunition. The sling is swung around the head full force, and the pebble thereby released and shot out into the air.

535 A Tongan dance (*lakalaka*) may be performed by any number of
people of both sexes. The leader (*bunake*), composes the dance,
[565] teaches it, and leads the dancers. He chooses leaders (*vahegas*) for
both the men's and women's parts, who must be of chiefly rank, as
no one considers the *lakalaka* worth watching unless the *vahega* belongs to the family of a chief. The words and music (*hiva usu*) for
the *lakalaka* have been handed down from early times.

The *fahaiula* is a dance participated in by women only. The dancing is done to the sound of drums, with groups of girls sitting around singing and clapping hands to keep time for the dancers.

857 A game for small children (*aamoa*) is played by ten or more
524 little girls and an old woman. The old woman covers herself with a
piece of *gatu* or tapa cloth and tries to frighten the children, who run
to escape her.

The game *fisi* is for both sexes. A rolled mat (*tapakau*) is placed on end with a stick on either side to support it; the children have small dried pieces of dried *fau* wood which they try to send over the top of the mat with one sharp clip of the finger.

CLOTHING OF WOMEN

291 The material used in most of the clothing worn by Tongan women
287 in the early days was made from *feta'aki* (white tapa cloth before
[294] it had been dyed or printed). The leaves of certain trees were also
[283] used, coconut fiber serving as thread for sewing them together.

292 Funeral garments were made from leaves blackened by several
764 days' exposure to the sun. These leaves were sewed together with
[412] a needle made from the small rib of the coconut leaf, the bark of the
[283] *fau* tree serving as thread.

287 A more modern method of dyeing the tapa cloth for funerals
386 is as follows: The natives gather a great pile of candle nuts (*tutui*),

they were capable of intensive labour to supply their needs. To the 797
missionaries, however, all idleness was a breeding ground for sin 461
and crime, and they determined to put an end to it. A reflection
of this sentiment may be seen in Section 3 which exhorts the chiefs 671
to show love to the people under them but to require them to be
industrious and perform their duties to the government and to [461]
the chiefs. It also states that the chief should apportion land to
the people, sufficient to enable them to procure the necessities of [425]
life and support a family. And in order to safeguard the gardens,
provision was made to that effect in Section 5 which prohibited [231]
anyone to allow his pigs to run loose and damage other people's
gardens.

Sale of rum and other spirits to the Tongans was a cause of 273
constant worry to the missionaries. One of the later missionaries
wrote to the General Secretary of the mission on the subject. 'What 797
will be said when a Tonga man drinks 3 bottles of strong spirit in
one day and laughs at it and says he did not take enough to make
himself drunk, and yet this is the case. Will not the curse of the
Holy one be upon those Europeans who thus bring the cup of death
to this (sic) . . . islanders' (Baker to Eggleston, 18 Dec. 1861,
Baker 1860-79). Some years later, when one of King George's [165]
sons died, the missionaries did not hesitate to attribute his death
to excessive drinking. The prohibition of the sale of hard liquor 671
by the new laws and its being punishable by 'a fine to the King
of Twenty Five Dollars'[2] and a liability 'to have the spirits taken 689
from him', was obviously a reflection of the missionaries' sentiment.

The missionaries' attitude to heathen customs and traditions 797
(especially those which had any religious connection) was one of
uncompromising intolerance. They identified Christianity with 183
'civilisation' and the latter with the habits and customs of an
English town or village, and anything contrary to them, such as
Tongan customs and traditions, was uncivilised or unchristian,
and therefore ought to be destroyed. Bishop Blanc (1934:38)
asserts that 'It seemed to be the aim and object of the former
[Wesleyan missionaries] to instill into the minds of the people the
idea that all pleasures were sinful. To this end, they prohibited, 671
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[2] This was a Spanish dollar and it was worth four shillings sterling. 535

671 through Taufaahau, all the early dances and songs and many of
[533] the ancient customs; . . . Through the suppression of the ancient
songs, much valuable information regarding the early history of
[535] Tonga has been for ever lost.' Section 8 of the new law, consistent
[609] with the teaching of the missionaries, specifically mentions tradi-
[304] tional customs such as tattooing, circumcision and 'any other
idolatrous ceremonies' which are punishable by fines.

Except for liquor retailing and drunkenness, for inducing sea-
681 men to leave their ships with the intention of staying in Tonga, and
for allowing pigs to run loose and damage gardens, the laws did
not stipulate any fixed punishments. Consequently, punishments
for various crimes were left to the discernment of the magistrates.

681 Desiring to inflict penalties in accordance with Christian prin-
ciples, King George and his magistrates naturally consulted the
797 missionaries on the matter:

> The King [wrote one missionary] came up to ask our opinion about punishing those who violate the laws of the land. They have punished them of late by beating them in the face with the fist. We told the King that we did not like the manner of punishing culprits, but that like himself we were at a loss to give any new mode which would be useful as almost every kind had been tried and had failed . . . We recommend hard labour and to appoint officers to look after those appointed to work. (P. Turner, Journal, 28 Feb. 1842)

[798] The consultation of the missionaries on this matter gave rise to
resentment, and mission houses at Neiafu were burnt down and
Peter Turner (Journal, 18 Aug. 1845) told King George that the
missionaries no longer wished to be consulted on the subject of
punishment, since 'the most abandoned of our people might think
that we influenced the judges to inflict certain punishments upon
them'.

671 Thomas recorded in his journal on 20 November 1839 that the
Vava'u Code would be put in force at Ha'apai too, which group
643 was also under Tāufa'āhau's rule from 1820. It appears, however,
that these laws had been acted upon in Ha'apai long before this
date, for Dr Lyth (Journal, 12 Dec. 1838), who was working at
Ha'apai at the time, reported in December 1838 that 'The King
[Tāufa'āhau] assembled the people from all the islands [of

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

671 It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were
[562] not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is supporting that which is an evil'.[3]

[461] Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the
[581] 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either spouse.

797 The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy. Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of
595 acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people', wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive
671 them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII: 3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one
595 spouse.

Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was
535 mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small
[832] hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of
535 course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all
797 Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing
[796] was the fact that it was often performed in association with the old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI
671 which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one
535 month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for further offences.

689 The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan mission-
797 aries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise,
291 leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

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[3] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and
[462] [287] breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.

643 As early as 1850 there was obviously some strain in the
relationship between the King and John Thomas, then chairman
797 of the Wesleyan mission in Tonga. On the day he left Tonga for
England for the first time after almost twenty-four years of continual service in Tonga, Thomas (Journal, 21 Feb. 1850) painfully recorded, 'many natives now come to take leave . . . but
the King and I leave in not a good state of mind . . . I regret he
[648] should have so far yielded to the enemy.' Apparently one of the
reasons for these strained relations was due to his suspicion that
Thomas had used cunning in order to try to obtain Tonga for Great Britain 'merely because [he] advised the King at a time when they feared they should have become the slaves of the French, to apply to the English Government for protection—to offer themselves to be the friends—or subjects of the English (for England has no slaves)' (Thomas, Journal, 19 Nov. 1849). When Thomas finally left Tonga in 1859 he wrote with obviously heavy heart:

> The King is not coming, so I shall not have the privilege of bidding him farewell. He is busy, it seems, building his house . . . One of his sons, as he is called, expresses his great surprise at this part of the King's conduct—That any house building should have been so important as to detair him from seeing me before I left. (Thomas, Journal, 15 Dec. 1859)

671 While the decrease in missionary influence was obvious in the
framing of the 1862 Code, non-missionary influence was quite
177 marked. This was partly brought about by a revival of interest
[535] in some of the old Tongan customs and forms of entertainment,
which may account for the disappearance of the provisions prohibiting dancing and all heathen customs, and partly by the growing contact of the Tongan leaders, especially King George, with non-missionary Europeans.

563 The chiefs in Tonga valued the skills and services of Europeans.
It had been, at one time, a matter of prestige among the chiefs
643 to have a European resident. King George himself had employed
a few Europeans in the palace as early as the 1840s, including
563 an ex-convict from Australia, to the utter disgust of the missionaries. The King established close associations with the new Euro-

[1837-1851]

of the Gospel" (13 February 1850), and he wrote again, on 15 January 1851: 797
"Many young people have cast away the restraints of religion".(87) Modern 794
theologians would consider that these worthy men were insisting upon Old
Testament law rather than "the Gospel".

The missionaries held the rigid views of behaviour found among Evangelicals in the mid-19th Century. They believed that prohibitions were necessary to mark the conversion from pagan practices, and they were saddened by instances of reaction against their policy. The Tonga Circuit report 1853-4 lamented the fact that "many who manifest great anxiety to progress in civilization imagine it necessary to throw off the restraints of religion".(88)

The Tongans' much-loved dancing was condemned by the early missionaries 797
because it often led to immorality, especially late at night; it was prohibited in 535
the Code of 1850. Actually, the words and actions of Tongan dances were more [833]
innocent than those used in other islands such as Rotuma where dances were
definitely lascivious; in all cases, missionaries, who understood the languages better than most Europeans, knew the danger very well. To ban all dancing, however, and not just the night dances, was quite unjustifiable. Gradually the prohibition of these beautiful forms of recreation was relaxed. There has been no more popular, innocent, and indeed valuable cultural pastime in Tonga than the dances in which history, legends, occupations and even scenery are represented through singing and rhythmic movements.

Innocent sports, such as foot-races, canoe-races, and other diversions, were 797
banned because they had been used in pre-Christian days, and because they 526
occupied time that, the missionaries felt, should be given to productive
employment. This insistence on a "work ethic" was characteristic of contemporary Protestant beliefs.

Smoking was prohibited for some years. Wilkes on his visit in 1840 noted 797
that it was very popular with the non-Christians but forbidden among the 276
converts whom Taufa'ahau had called upon to follow his example of abstinence.
It was said to be undesirable and unhygienic when practised in crowded conditions. Rabone (29 September 1837) wrote that sometimes smoking led to a house being burnt down. It was also said that Tongans always swallowed the smoke, with harmful effects. More serious was the allegation that smoking gave opportunities for immoral conduct. W. G. R. Stephinson said that he had been told that, before their conversion, women smoking alongside men was a sign of their willingness
to practise immorality.(39) W. J. Davis (18 March 1862) said that smoking [833]

> is an introduction to the crying sin of Tonga, namely, fornication and adultery".(40)

The missionaries' example was emphasized. As early as 12 September 1838, Rabone wrote about another missionary who smoked:

> "Bro. ——————— must either give it up or the people may be allowed".(41)

The brother in question was soon transferred to Fiji (but not, apparently, because of his smoking) and he proved a failure there, on other grounds.

Kava drinking, universally practised and rooted in Tongan custom, was never 797
prohibited. In this respect the missionaries in Tonga differed from some of their 273
counterparts in Fiji.

All customs associated with pre-Christian days, such as the presentation of 797
gifts at funerals, were banned, as these were regarded as offerings to the dead. 178
The missionaries were motivated always by the desire to make a complete external [764]

[1935 - 1964]

Chapter XIX.

TONGAN SAINTS AND LEADERS

More important than overseas ministers and teachers have been the Tongan 79
leaders of the Free Wesleyan Church. Their influence upon the people depended,
in the final analysis, upon the quality of their lives, and the term "saints" can be
worthily applied to some of them.

Among the leaders in this century Queen Salote was undoubtedly outstanding 643
— and not only because of her rank. Her influence was derived from her Christian 795
integrity and her conspicuous personal talents. She seemed to inherit the
commanding presence and the eloquence of Tupou I. Oratory is highly esteemed 643
in Tonga. The Queen's clear and challenging voice, with a direct and logical 537
approach to her topics, religious or national, always held her hearers' attention.
This effect was evident both in large assemblies and in the small devotional
meetings which she regularly conducted. As a poet also she was conspicuous. 643
Her poems were set to melodies of her own composition and were used in [538]
descriptive dances at festivals. Her written and spoken English was perfect. Sir [535]
Harry Luke (High Commissioner, 1938-42) said of her dispatches, "She writes in [191]
a clear unaffected style with a simplicity of phrasing and pleasantly old-fashioned
flavour faintly reminiscent of John Bunyan".(1)

Before her visit to Britain in 1953 brought her world-fame the Queen had 643
attracted interest in places closer to Tonga. In 1935 she visited Sydney for medical 484
treatment; upon her recovery from an operation the Church held a reception for
her in Sydney Town Hall from which hundreds of expectant guests were turned
away. Auckland, which she frequently visited, was regarded by her and the people
of that city as her second home.

The Queen's sorrows were many. She often said that these drew her closer 643
to God and increased her sympathies with others. The loss of her husband was
a great deprivation. Before then she had lost her second son, William Tuku'aho,
who died on 28 April 1938, at the age of sixteen, from the effects of a rheumatic
heart. She was a mother indeed to her people, knowing them intimately and being
concerned with their personal problems. In no part of the nation's life was her 643
influence greater than in the promotion of the welfare of women. In 1933 she 562
founded an organization for the improvement of living conditions in the villages
and the encouragement of handicrafts. Miss Rowlands, Principal of Queen Salote
College, her personal friend, gave her support in these enterprises. The Queen
organized the first international assembly held in Tonga, the Pan-Pacific and
South-East Asia Women's Association Conference, which met at Nuku'alofa in
August 1964.

Through all the changing years the Queen bore witness to the reality of her 643
personal faith. She was an able expositor of the Scriptures on both formal and 795
informal occasions. Her solicitude for the well-being of the Church was revealed

457 Tonga, and they want to "see" Tonga; but all too often cruise passengers
177 get only a look at a "phony-folk-culture" in action—a Disneyland of the
Pacific, so to speak.

The air guests, fewer in number (but staying longer), may have a somewhat different experience. They have the opportunity to enjoy the recreational facilities of a tropical island—swimming, fishing, and snorkeling—and they may also have the opportunity to see more of the island at a gradual pace, to meet some of the truly hospitable Tongans on a person-to-person basis, and to share a truly cross-cultural educational experience. However, the actual experiences of the tourist can be less than this ideal.

457 Forster (1964, pp. 217-22) pointed out that one of the fascinating
177 aspects of the tourist process in the Pacific is the deliberate creation of a
535 "phony-folk-culture," which the indigenous inhabitants develop to provide "authentic native culture" to the tourists. For example, a popular tourist "attraction" is a display of dances in Tonga: the program may contain almost a dozen Fijian, Tahitian, Hawaiian, or New Zealand dances performed by the Tongan dancers but show only one or two Tongan dances. The fact is granted that a Tahitian *tamure* has a tremendous amount of visual impact, and a Fijian fire dance is dramatic, but Tongan dances have a beauty and symmetry of their own that should be performed for the visitors to Tonga.

457 It is this alteration of their basic culture that has prompted Tongans to
consider legislating the tourist industry. They seek to ensure the active
178 preservation of the traditional Tongan way of life and culture by integrating traditional patterns into mass tourism and not making traditional culture a contemporary "phony-folk-culture."

Other tangible and observable social problems have developed in the
[735] Kingdom as a result of the tourist influx: some Tongan children now beg
[548] from tourists at the major tourist attractions; prostitution and homosexual-
[838] ity appear to be increasing (not necessarily for the tourists but for the
[435] crew members of the cruise ships); tourists are harassed as they walk
through city streets and villages; and price-gouging, especially for transportation, is a common complaint.

457 The substantial amount of quickly-generated cash derived from cruise
ship passengers (for an "authentic" Polynesian feast, shore excursions
434 around the island, and the purchase of handicrafts), when placed into
527 circulation in the port towns, can be the occasion for a party. Drinking
may commence even before the ship has weighed anchor and drunken-
273 ness appears to be a major source of crime. Tongans still enjoy their
[276] traditional *kava* drink, but as I have stated elsewhere, when individuals
begin to consume more alcohol than *kava*, in violation of their Christian
[178] ethic, it is an indication that the basic fabric of their culture and society
457 has shifted. In recent years Tongans have been evicted from their own
273

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occasions in which *sisi fale* were used; and those *sisi fale* that were obtained were 285
traded to the Tahitians for hogs, and mourning dresses and other curiosities. We [075]
must be ever grateful to Forster for saving at least half of his. There is also part of a *sisi fale* in Göttingen, but according to the curator, this does not come from the Forster part of the collection.

Cook explains the function of the *sisi fale* in his third voyage account. 'In their 285
great Haivas, or Dances they dress in various dresses which are made for the 292
purpose but the method is allways the same; the richest dresses are those covered [175]
more or less with red feathers' (Beaglehole 1967: 168). No *sisi fale* exist today in [535]
Tonga, but according to tradition they were worn by high chiefs for ceremonial [531]
dress or dancing. A specimen in one collection is noted 'Kafolalanga worn by the [127]
Tamaha and the Tu'i Tonga on feast days.' The word is probably *kofulalanga*, [643]
which simply means woven dress. One of the examples in Florence is connected [644]
with the Tamaha in yet another way. The individual elements that make up the
sisi fale are a design used by the Tamaha. The design, a circle with an abstract tree, [531]
is said to represent an '*akau ha'amo*, carrying pole of a special kind of wood, used [482]
by the Ha'a Ngata to bring gifts to the Tamaha.

Also of feathers, and the most spectacular of all objects of indigenous Tongan 292
manufacture, were feather headdresses. These highest of visual symbols could be 554
worn only by the highest of chiefs—and perhaps only by the Tu'i Tonga himself. [643]
During Cook's third voyage sojourn in Tonga, Finau left Cook on May 23
ostensibly to go to Vava'u 'to get some red feathered caps for me [Cook] and 175
Omai to carry to Otaheite where they are in high esteem' (Beaglehole 1967: 112). 292
Finau seems not to have succeeded for he fabricates a story that the canoe was lost 554
in high wind. Anderson offers us an explanation: 'The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble' (Beaglehole 1967: 886).

Only Paulaho, the Tu'i Tonga, presents the treasure. 292

> [he] came on board betimes and brought me one of their Caps made or at least covered with 554
> red feathers: these Caps were much sought after by us from knowing that they would be 643
> highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered not one was ever 175
> brought for sale, which shewed they were no less valuable to the people here, nor was there a [435]
> person in either Ship that got one but myself Capt. Clerke and Omai. These Caps or rather
> bonnets are made of the tail feathers of the Tropic bird with the red feathers of the Paroquets [237]
> worked upon them or in along with them, they are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any Crown, and have the form of a Simicircle whose radius is 18 or 20 Inches; But a painting which Mr. Webber has made of Fattafee Polaho dressed in one of these bonnets will convey the best idea of them (Beaglehole 1967: 117).

Two of these rare items were given to the Tahitians—but little did Cook know 175
that these feather headdresses were among the rarest of all Polynesian artefacts. 292
Cook wanted to procure hogs and perhaps Tahitian mourning dresses—but these 127
latter exist in relatively large numbers in museum collections. Mourning dresses [643]
were worn by a number of chiefs but probably only the Tu'i Tonga had feather headdresses. Since two were given away by Cook, there was still a chance that one

534 longer exists in Tonga and no specimens have been located in museum collections.
[175] Were it not for the Cook descriptions, one might be tempted to explain any
reference to them as the result of contact with Fiji, where they still exist.

535 A dance paddle was collected by Forster, but there are no descriptions of Tongan
412 dance in the second voyage accounts. The paddle is listed in the Tongan section
of the *Catalogue* as Number 81, 'a Spatule of wood to mix up their paste of bread-
252 fruit with', but this need not be as incorrect as it sounds. Tongans did make bread-
fruit paste and several breadfruit pounders were collected. If a utensil was necessary
at a moment's notice it is not unlikely that a discarded dance paddle would be used.
The Pitt Rivers Museum example had been broken and mended with coconut
535 fibre and its shape would be a good one for mixing breadfruit paste. The dance in
which the paddle is used (*me'etu'upaki*) was depicted and described in the third
[175] voyage accounts. A watercolour by Webber is now in the National Maritime
Museum, Greenwich,[10] and in Cook's Journal there is a detailed description
(Beaglehole 1967: 109). During Cook's time this was the type of formal dance
[643] performed on state occasions and in connection with the Tu'i Tonga's harvest
[178] ceremonies. Today this dance can only be performed by members of the village
of the Tu'i Tonga. This recognises the still exalted status of the Tu'i Tonga line
and those who descend from it, even though it is not the ruling line of today.[11]

The second dance type described and depicted in Cook's third voyage accounts,
535 the *me'elaufola*, was during Cook's time the informal dance type. An engraving
175 (plate 6a)[A] shows how observant Webber was and how he has made an artistic
convention useful to research. The women on either side of the musicians are shown
with their arms in quite different positions. With a knowledge of Tongan dance
one can easily discern that Webber has depicted the beginning and end of the most
important arm movement in Tongan dance.[12] This convention was also used by
Labillardière in his depiction of another Tongan dance (1802: following p. 167).
535 The *me'elaufola* no longer exists in Tonga, but it has evolved into the new formal
[178] dance type of today, the *lakalaka*, which uses the same arm movement as that drawn
by Webber. The *lakalaka* visually and poetically acknowledges the shift in societal
power to the Ha'a Ngata. It is performed by all the adult members of a village,
who, in effect, deliver a speech in unison dramatising their words with actions and
thereby pay their allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga. The
[181] contemporary arrangement of dancers reflects such traditional Tongan values as
[593] sister outranking brother, resulting in brother-sister avoidance, while the place-
ment of chiefs and *matāpule* lines represented in the village, as well as the achieved
[554] status of best dancer (*mālie taha*), demonstrates how concepts of rank pervade all
Tongan life in a manner as important today as it was in the eighteenth century.

121 We conclude, then, that written accounts, illustrations, and collections made
175 on the voyages of Captain Cook have contributed new insights into the material
culture and society of Tonga. Many ethnological collections have been almost
127 totally ignored by social and cultural anthropologists for many years and the
associated documentation has often been mislaid, and in some cases destroyed. It
is occasionally possible, however, to identify and localise early specimens from
illustrations and from the records of eighteenth-century museums and private
collections, and this documentation has been crucial here in increasing our under-
121 standing of Tongan material culture. Further, the study of first hand accounts of
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[A] [See End Plate 6, following p. 220--Analyst]

92: Kaeppler E-4 (1964-1967) 1971
OU9 Tonga OU9

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304 Plate 1*a*. 'The Landing at Middleburgh, one of the Friendly Islands'. Engraving after W. Hodges.
782 Plate 1*b*. *To'o nima*, finger sacrifice. Detail from 'The Landing at Middleburgh'.
292 Plate 1*c*. Mourning mat. Funeral of Queen Sālote Tupou III, December 1965.
764 Plate 2*a*. *Ta'ovala la*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 53.
765 Plate 2*b*. *Kie fau*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 56.
285 Plate 2*c*. *Sisi fale*, waist mat. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 61.
531 Plate 3*a*. *Palā tavake*, feather headdress. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria (4672).
127 Plate 3*b*. Feather headdress. Detail from a carved club. Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (E33465).
293 Plate 4*a*. *Fue kafa*, fly whisk. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 101.
714 Plate 4*b*. Carving implements. i) shark tooth set in handle of wood; ii) European nail set in handle of bone. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 174 and 101a.
301 Plate 5*a*. Whalebone breastplate. Pitt Rivers Museum, Forster 62.
535 Plate 5*b*. Necklace of white shell and dark beads with ivory pieces. Pitt Rivers Museum, Foster 98.
534 Plate 6*a*. 'A Night Dance by Women in Hapaee'. Engraving after Webber.
000 Plate 6*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru cranial vault.
Plate 7*a*. The Iwo Eleru skull viewed from above.
Plate 7*b*. Left lateral view of the Iwo Eleru mandible. Only one tooth remains in position.
Plate 8. Pavagarh Dune, showing gentle windward slope, gullying and vegetation.

[Facing End Plate 1]

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534
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PLATE 6a.

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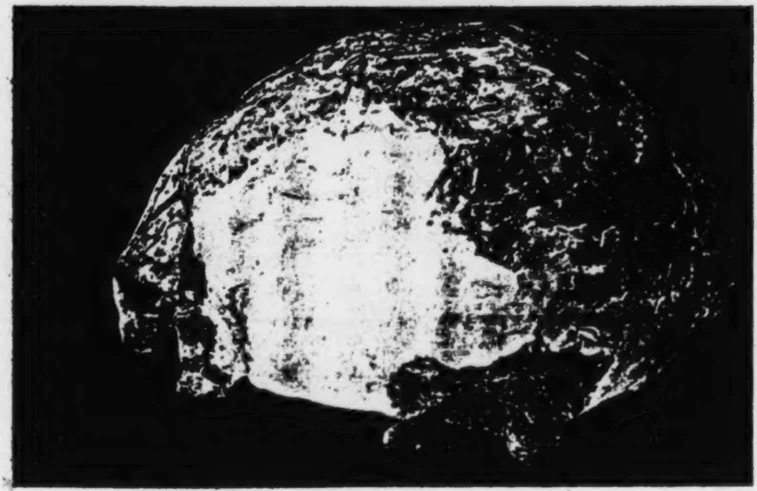

PLATE 6b.

[End Plate 6]

[Captions appear on page facing End Plate 1--Analyst]

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. 574
punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates 575
came from the far-away islands of 462
Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua,
so they were daily entertained by a 873
different local village which provided 574
them with three handsome meals, the 264
midday dinner being served on low
tables on the *Langa Fonua* back verandah.
A lorry would arrive between [262]
11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily
garlanded would leap forth and unload [252]
great plaited coconut frond *pola* or
stretchers laden with delicious food—
long yams or taro down each side forming
a protective wall for the pyramid
of whole sucking pigs (the pig population
in 1955 was 30,000). chickens.
shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons
and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef
cooked with coconut cream and wrapped
in taro leaves) as well as a special local
cassava and caramel pudding also
wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about [533]
35 to 40, on the floor round this long
laden table and eat with our fingers. [534]
helping ourselves freely while the host [535]
team entertained us with ukulele, songs
and high-spirited dances in which many
of us took part as a healthy digestive to
the superb meal. Speeches from the [537]
visitors and hosts took place throughout
the meal, the orator frequently weeping [201]
as a gesture of appreciation of such generous
hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon session, [177]
which on three days appropriately
consisted of a talk on food values and
a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty 621
as other countries throughout the world 873
regarding village work, namely, the 575
problem of keeping up interest without 462
extraneous leadership. The morning
sessions were consequently directed to- 177

/55 cont./

291 Yet nowadays, on the small islands (as well as on the outskirts of
the "chief city") one sees children (especially boys) run around
naked up to about five years (in exceptional cases up to nine years)
[296] even /56/ on Sundays. The reason for this is the indifference and
convenience of the parents who, because of the rapid deterioration of
fabrics resulting from improper treatment naturally find it very
difficult always to dress their numerous children (as many as 12)
[177] "decently." As a rule, however, people make an effort to dress their
children in small *vala* or panties of European fabric, and if possible,
[292] make small shirts for boys and little dresses for girls to wear on
Sundays, often with the addition of small *ta'o-vala* for the boys.

291 Summarizing the change in Tongan clothing, we note primarily
177 the replacement of the tapa and a definitive acceptance of full
178 covering. Tongan women, when dyeing (*koka'anga*) the long lengths of
(386) tapa, often wrap a piece of old tapa around their hips to protect
their fabric clothing from color spatters. If they come as guests
[574] to a festival they will sometimes wear, as a *vala*, the tapa they have
[431] brought their hosts as a gift, and at many large dances (146)
women and men (if they take part) still like to adorn themselves
with tapa. Aside from that, however, tapa as clothing has disappeared from Tongan life. Moreover, in the villages and in public
no Tongan man or woman may defy the general fashion of clothing the
upper part of their bodies. Yet the change is not as complete as
in other areas of Polynesia, for example on Tahiti. For most of the
Tongan men and women still adhere to the form of the *vala* and wear the
belt mats (*ta'o-vala*)--probably no less than in ancient Tonga. Footgear and headgear have not become common.

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(535) 146. For example, the *laka-laka*, *ula*, *ma'ulu'ulu* and *me'etu'upaki*. For details see "Dances," p. 395 ff.

/58 cont./

301 824 (house-building, making large lengths of tapa). Young girls usually make them by stringing together the large whitish-yellow *pua* blossoms (*Fagraea berteroana*) and the small *huni* blossoms. (158)

> 158. Frequently also the red pandanus seed capsules.

on a hibiscus bast thread. The *sisi kakala* likewise worn by young men, girls and children (sometimes also by older persons) at festivals, but around the waist and sometimes also around the shoulders, are made by girls and women, usually out of the blossoms of *pua*, *heilala* and *pipi*, out of the leaves of *tane-tane* (*Polyscias* species) and *maile* (*Alyxia* species) and out of the seed capsules of *paongo* (*Pandanus* species) and *pipi*, all of which are similarly strung on a bast strip of *fau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*). (159)

> 159. A typical arrangement consists, for example, of *pua* blossoms, *pipi* blossoms, *pipi* seeds and *maile* leaves; sometimes they make artistic *sisi kakala* of threaded blossoms and leaves which are interspersed, for example, with other smaller blossoms on the ribs of coconut pinna.

Often they also simply put a blossom (for example *pua*) behind one ear as an ornament. Old and young Tongans of both sexes like to wear an arrangement of *fatai* (a Liana) around their necks as an ornament and for coolness, whenever it suits them.

301 237 [535] Only at dances (160)

> 160. For instance, *tau'olunga*, *laka-laka* *ma'ulu'ulu*, *kailao*.

necklaces of snail shells (*kahoa hihi*, *kahoa pueki*) are occasionally worn. Finger rings of tortoise shell, already mentioned by Cook and Ellis for Tonga, (161)

> 161. J. Cook, *loc. cit.* p. 281; W. Ellis, *loc. cit.* p. 94/95.

/58 cont./

301 237 are also seen nowadays on some Tongan women and a few men. But they have been altered by inlays of silver ornaments (rhomboids, crosses, 301 237 326 dots) obtained from melted silver coins. Several Tongan "experts" in Nuku'alofa and Neiafu make these rings which are dispersed from the seaports throughout the Archipelago. Inventive Tongans make rings out 301 177 326 of a tortoise shell substitute, namely the black celluloid rims of bicycle pumps, and also decorate them with silver designs. Occasion- 301 [237] ally one sees tortoise shell bracelets which in /59/ workmanship and inlays resemble tortoise shell rings and in shape are simple spirals.

Some Tongan women own gold finger rings (162)

[177] 162. A few Tongan men also wear these in imitation of the European custom of wedding rings.

and gold and silver bracelets; a few have necklaces of the same 301 177 material. This European adornment has not become very widespread during the last decades. The gold rings were heavier in the recent past than the ones preferred nowadays. Among the few "durable ornaments" worn nowadays we must count the plastic combs which some Tongan women wear in their hair and which to some extent replace the beautiful old rodlet combs. (163)

163. G. Forster, loc. cit. p. 328.

302 The only survival of face painting seems to be the coloring of cheeks with the blood of freshly killed pigs that is sometimes practised by young boys.

301 292 The colorful belt of hibiscus bast, kie-kie lou fau, (164)

164. See page 323.

535 824 which was mentioned under clothing and which often replaces the ta'ovala of women and girls, may also be regarded as adornment, as may the dance shirts worn by Tongan women on the occasion of big dances, (165)

/59 cont./

301 165. For example, kofu lou fau knotted of
292 colored hibiscus bast for the laka-laka,
535 ula and tau'olunga dances; kofu lou 'akau, of
824 white tapa (feta 'aki) with mohokoi leaves
(Cananga odorata), which are stitched on with hibiscus bast for the laka-laka and ma'ulu'ulu dances; sala sipi-sipi of tapa (feta'aki) dyed with European dye for the laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu tau'olunga dances. Dance shirts are also made of white tapa (feta'aki) studded with shimmering shells or red seed capsules. For dances some /women/ like to adorn themselves with maile leaves (Alyxia species) around neck, waist and wrists.

and the tapa vala trimmed with leaves, worn on similar occasions by
women and by the men who may possibly take part. In the kie-kie lou
292 fau, the dance shirts and the dance vala, old and new cultural assets
535
177 are fused, the Tongan basic material and ancient basic forms being
301 "enriched" with European dyes, imported plants and novel form elements
(for example, sleeves, decorations).

301 There is no longer a distinction made between nobles and commoners
184 in the realm of adornment.
565

In general, it made be said of today's adornment in Tonga that
301 the former varied richness it represented for the native has gone and
177
178 was in no sense replaced by European cultural assets. The plant
adornment, as well as the (partly altered) dance garments are the
only important vestiges which, to be sure, are still very much bound
up with Tongan life.

/60/

Tattooing

304 In the art of tattooing there was an even greater change, which
[178] we may characterize as degeneration.
[182]

In ancient Tonga all men, with the exception of the highest dignitaries, (166)

166. Probably on account of special taboos.

/97 cont./

476 each one brings a long length of tapa and two mats which they spread
527 out before the guests and the judges (for example, the district officer
574 /cited in English/, a few pastors and the presidents of the village
[533] kautaha). The brass band plays an accompaniment to this, a group
of young Tongans join in with a song and occasionally a woman will beat
a large bass drum. The women of the kautaha, young as well as old,
[535] are quite boisterous; when they bring out the individual pieces they
often dance, sway their hips in time to the music, stride and dance
over the outspread splendors, amidst the applause and laughter of the
spectators. The judges seriously scrutinize and consider. The show
lasts about two hours. Then the drum is beaten, the school bell is
rung, the band plays and the coconut-leaf tables (pola kai), (271)
laden with food, are brought and arranged in long rows between the
guests. Whole roast pigs, baked fish, large crabs, corned beef,
[262] /cited in English/ chickens, new yams, bread fruit and bananas from
[177] the earth-oven lie piles up on the tables, crowned with earthenware
[272] plates of "English pudding" /cited in English/ (resembling gingerbread
with a red floury sauce), small cakes and rich cream tortes, in addition
to glass jugs with red and yellow, very sweet lemonade. A prayer is
said, and people begin to eat. During this meal some ten speeches are
made. The district officer or town officer thanks the women for
always following the orders of their president and for preparing the
entire festival so nicely. Other speakers thank the president of this
kautaha and also the women. The president gives out prizes (often in
the form of money) for the best pieces; a matapule also delivers a long
speech about freedom in Tonga and obedience to the chiefs. A prayer
ends the feast and people return home while the band still plays and
the hosts fill baskets with leftover food to send to the houses of the

271. Or corrugated metal tables covered with banana leaves.

/215 cont./
285 off (all around) in one strip. After it has dried in the sun for
283 about two days /216/ the white bast (= on the inner side of the re-
824 maining bark) is removed. This the women (girls) divide into narrow
strips and therewith knot the mana fau which is actually only a strand
of bast slung around the hips, from which the bast fibers, knotted to
it in close succession, hang down to below the knees.

kie-kie lou fau:

292 The kie-kie lou fau is worn especially by women and girls,
though sometimes also by men. They wear it instead of a ta'o-vala
(764) to church, when visiting chiefs, for festivals and other occasions,
(574) and for dances (laka-laka, ma'ulu'ulu, hula hula, tau'olunga, hula,
(535) ulu); they also decorate fresh graves with it.

285 This ornamental belt which originated only in recent times (end
292 of the last century?/ is made by women and girls, likewise out of
(462) hibiscus bast, and consists of a plaited belt cord on which are
(824) knotted long, narrow bast strips that hang down. It usually has
(283) special knotted ornaments in the hip section (for example, bast
(177) strips tied into rosettes), and parts of it, in contrast to mana fau,
(386) are always dyed with European dyes (particularly green, lavender, pink,
and blue).

kie-kie pueki:

292 This ornamental belt, which is also worn by women and girls
(438) (and occasionally by men) in place of the ta'o-vala, is a typical
product of the island of Niua Toputapu situated in the very northern
part of the Archipelago. It may be an ancient cultural heritage.

292 The natives there make the kie-kie pueki, like the mana fau, of
237 hibiscus bast (with long pendant bast strips); all around the hip
(283) section, however, they knot snail shells on a band about eight centi-
(285) meters wide. The snail shells, which are whitish-yellow in their
(177)
(386)

292 /216 cont./
237 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The *kie-kie lopa* is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a *ta'o-vala;* they also like to wear it at dances (*laka-laka*,
[353] *tau'olunga*, *kailao*, *hula*, *ula*, *ma'ulu'ulu*) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
(283) (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red *lopa* seeds (*Adenanthera pavonina*?). Today the bast fibers
(386) of the *kie-kie lopa* are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
(177) Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient
Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
(283) knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
(386) feature of all of them except *mana fau*.
(177) The bast cloth (tapa) (567)

287 567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation,
177 though long since established even for the dyed
[196] and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast
cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-
dyed edge of the bast cloth is called *tapa*,
whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called
ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though
the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and
European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants
of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)

784 568. See p. 66 ff.

178 since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

/256 cont./ The natives sang

533 chiefly to accompany dances (683)

534 683. For example, J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. pp.
461 329-337.

(at which rhythm-stampers, percussion sticks and slit-drums /?/ provided the rhythm) and also to encourage people at certain work (for (*hiva*), (685)

685. Ibid. p. 333; W. Ellis, *An authentic narrative...* /cited in English/ I. p. 106.

by individuals or small groups (sometimes accompanied by a nose flute). (686)

686. For example, J. Martin, *loc. cit.* II. p. 334.

533 The beauty and the assets of the islands and the sea were the subject of such songs, but events of the past were also celebrated in song.

533 /257/ Today there are no longer any purely Tongan songs,
177 except for an old *taua'alo* melody. (687)

[461] 687. *taua'alo* are the typical ancient Tongan work songs, sung especially in paddling; perhaps the *lomepeau* song sometimes still sung to the *laka-laka* dance is also of Tongan origin.

One hears songs of European (English) origin or purely European (English) songs. Most of the secular songs today sung by individual natives or by small groups are written and composed by Tongans on
533 various English models. Most of these songs contain landscape descriptions, though many--in contrast to the past--are pure love songs. Other themes, as for example historical events, are rare. The natives
[574] sing at social gatherings, for example in the kava circles, (688)

[535] 688. See p. 147-149.

to accompany dances and sometimes also by themselves if they happen to feel like it.

[796] But most of all and most heartily the Tongans (689)

[194] 689. Their singing voices (especially those of

/260 cont./

538 famous places, or allegedly also about the beauty of girls). Likewise,
574 at an informal village kava circle it is said that sometimes a Tongan
[533] will recite an individual verses of his poem in between the group
singing of a few songs. On the basis of the sparse and fragmentary
538 historical sources on this subject it is difficult to say definitely
178 whether the solo performance occurred more often in ancient Tonga
than at present. It is quite possible that this art which once
flourished under the protection of the chiefs became more rare when
their power waned and the once grand "royal court" disappeared.

538 The art of poet-composers who taught their songs to singing
533 groups has, however, been preserved to a great extent. Commoners
[178] and nobles are today active in this field, both for the high nobility
[565] (for example, at festivals of the royal family) and especially for the
common people. As in the past, they create their poems and the
melodies for them in solitude and then rehearse the new song with a
group which is to sing it at a planned festivity. Or else they gather
[574] together only a few young men and sing and play the little composition
to them often enough so that they master it (705)

[177] 705. Today they also practice the new songs by writing the (European) note-numbers on a blackboard and part-singing them.

/261/ and then in turn make it known further by singing it at an evening kava circle. (706)

[535] 706. If they wish to learn a new dance they will create a text, set it to music and then practice the dance to it.

533 The change in comparison with the past consists in the fact that
177 today song composing has largely become popular and texts (as well as
melodies) show European influence. (707)

707. See p. 387-388.

535 Dances were very popular in ancient Tonga. They apparently

/261 cont./

535 served chiefly as entertainment and were performed on joyful occasions, especially at the festivities of chiefs; (708)

708. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 137.

but big dances were also staged on the occasion of important acts of worship (for example, burials of great chiefs, (709)

709. S.J.Wilson, Missions-Reise /Missionary journey/...p. 365; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 417.

inasi-festival) (710)

710. See E.E.V. Collocott, Tales...p. 116.

large dances were staged. The reports of European seafarers who visited the islands in those days are full of admiration for the skill and perfect uniformity of movement which the Tongans displayed in the grand group dances.

535
178 Today large dances are seldom performed. Since the suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries who substituted
[177] studying the bible in place of the "heathenish games, dances and
(797) similar endless amusements," (711)

711. See Th. West, Ten years...pp. 213/214.

the ancient Tongan dance has not had a special flowering, although, thanks to the (diplomatic) tolerance of the Catholic missionaries (712)

712. See Annales...XVIII. pp. 26/27.

and to the conservative attitude of older chiefs, (713)

713. See B. Thomson, Savage island /cited in English/ p. 218.

it has been handed down to the present in various forms, and is today even taught in the schools and practiced for the large school festivals to be presented in contests between individual classes.

[527] Nonetheless, for very special occasions (for example, a wedding

/261 cont./

535 in the royal family or some other extraordinary festival such as the
178 50th anniversary of the Treaty with England) the natives learn such
529 dances in the various villages, (714)

714. Older men and women are the dance teachers (punake).

and they often practice these for months until the individual movements of all participants are very precisely coordinated, as
in the past. Besides such dances intended for the most important
535 festivals, there are today two forms of a casual, improvised native dance, the tau'olunga and the hula. These, as well as the rest /262/ of the most well-known Tongan dances may be briefly described in the following list which will also give some idea of the changes that have taken place in comparison with the past.

tau'olunga:

is danced by Tongan men and women of all ages, even by children and very old people. The majority of natives master this simplest of Tongan dances.

Generally, two men and two women demonstrate it. They wear
[291] European clothing, but often only underwear and over it ornamental
[177] belts (for example, mana fau, kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324)
[292] and necklaces of plant material (kakala) (see pp. 82-84).
[301]

Especially at kava gatherings, at village festivals and at
[574] weddings, a few young men and girls dance the tau'olunga, the
various steps and movements of which are improvised. They accompany
[533] the dance with special songs (containing descriptions of landscapes,
various flowers, the fragrance of blossoms, the moon, the sun, love and so on) and also play guitar accompaniments while the audience mark time with hand-clapping. The tau'olunga is danced at any time of the day, but usually in the evening.

/262 cont./

535
[177] This dance does not seem to be very old in Tonga, and was probably borrowed from Samoa about a century ago.

hula:

is danced only by girls (women) about 12 to 30 years of age. The hula is quite popular; about half the young women can perform it.

Only one or two girls (women) at a time demonstrate this dance.
[292] They usually put on the ornamental belt (for example, mana fau,
[301] kie-kie lou fau) (see pp. 321-324) and necklaces of plant material
[291] (kakala) (see pp. 82-84) and wear European underwear. On many occasions,
[177] for example kava- picnic- birthday- and wedding-gatherings, the hula
[574] may be danced. The dancers move (especially their hips and the upper
[527] part of their bodies) to the singing of a chorus and the playing of
several guitars. The hula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The hula is a new dance taken over from Hawaii in the 30s of this century. There too it originated only in recent times.

laka-laka:

is danced by Tongan men and women about 16 to 60 years of age. The laka-laka is probably the most popular and most often performed of the large dances. Approximately half of all natives are proficient in it.

About 60 natives take part in a laka-laka; however, their number may reach 400. Both sexes are about equally represented, but equal numbers are not a prerequisite. Usually all male participants wear the same dance costume (for example, white shirt, black vala of European material, ta'o-vala [see pp. 69-71], kahoa and sisi kakala [see pp. 82-84]), just as all /263/ female participants are uniformily dressed (for example, dance shirt kofu lou fau and vala of tapa [ngatu 'uli] [see pp. 84-85 and 330-333]).

[554] The dancers usually stand in two rows (more, if many people

/263 cont./

535 take part) in such a way that the men form the left half (as seen
554 from the observer) and the women (girls) the right half; the highest
ranking male participant is first in the front men's row (he stands
in the center ["juncture"] of the first men-women row), the highest
ranking female participant dances beside him--as the first in her
row. The best male dancer is the right-hand man of the highest
ranking male (corresponding to the best female dancer to the left of
the highest ranking female). The quality of the dancers decreases
[565] toward the wings, but the persons at the wing ends are usually
skilled nobles.

535 Behind the dance group there often sits a chorus (men and women
533 of random numbers). Songs (715)
[534] are the sole accompaniment of the *laka-laka*. Musical instruments are
not used. With manifold, precisely coordinated movements of arms,
hands and feet (individual steps in various directions), of the
torso, the head, the eyes, the eyebrows and the shoulders, male and
female dancers illustrate the contents of the songs sung (about
the Queen, the Crown Prince, the chiefs, the beauties of the landscape,
the Treaty with England, the World Wars, the automobile and the
airplane, etc.). At special achievements the audience breaks in
with bravo-shouts (*malie!*), and after the dance they applaud
appreciatively.

715. Various texts with various melodies are sung to the *laka-laka*; usually only newly composed *laka-laka* are danced.

535 The *laka-laka* may be danced at all hours of the day.

The *laka-laka* in its entirety is doubtless not an ancient Tongan
[797] dance. It is said to have originated from the marching drills of
Tongan children in the former mission schools (*laka-laka* = to march
[rapidly]). (However, there are probably all kinds of ancient Tongan

/263 cont./

535 dance movements in the many-faceted laka-laka.

ma'ulu'ulu:

is danced by natives of both sexes aged 10 to 60 (70) years. The ma'ulu'ulu is the most well-known dance next to the laka-laka; almost half the Tongans have probably learned it.

Approximately 40 to 60 natives take part in the ma'ulu'ulu (the two sexes in about the same proportion). The costume is similar to that of [177] the laka-laka, but the male and female dancers all wear the same colors; [292] often they also make do with European fabrics and add ornamental belts [301] (sisi kakala) and necklaces (kakala).

The ma'ulu'ulu is a sitting dance. The participants group them- [554] selves similarly as for the laka-laka, with the highest ranking man and the highest ranking woman in the center of the first row; no more than two rows are formed for this dance.

535 533 Behind the dancers sits a chorus (of mixed age, sex and rank), to whose singing several nafa barrel drums stretched with skins (see p 390-392) are beaten. After a drum prelude, which is supposed "to rouse the hearts of the dancers," the male and female dancers, with movements of the hands (and arms), of the /264/ head and eyes, begin to portray the content of the song that is being sung (and that contains the same themes as the laka-laka), and to indicate the rhythm with foot movements.

535 The ma'ulu'ulu is danced at any time of day.

[177] This dance was borrowed from Samoa (probably a long time ago).

tafi:

is a dance very similar to the ma'ulu'ulu. It is presented less often than the latter, and no more than perhaps one-third of the natives are experienced in it. The tafi differs from the ma'ulu'ulu [533] particularly by the fact that there is scarcely any singing to accompany it, and the movements are determined chiefly by the drum

/264 cont./

535 beats of the nafa.

[533] This is probably an ancient Tongan dance.

kailao:

is danced only by men (chiefly young ones, though also older ones). Some two-thirds of the Tongans have probably learned it.

Various numbers of natives (usually between 20 and 100) may
take part in a kailao. They dance with naked torsos preferably
[301] decorated with kakala necklaces (see page 82-84) in addition, they wear
[292] ornamental belts (mana fau, kie-kie lou fau [see pp. 321-324]) over
[177] [291] European underpants and feather hats (made of tapa and red-dyed chicken
[237] feathers).

The dancers generally arrange themselves in rows of 20 men each.
[533] Each man holds a dance paddle. The accompaniment consists of rhythmic
beating with sticks on one or two empty cans by a few men. The dancers
display considerable movement (including steps).

The kailao may be danced at any time of day.

[177] The kailao--originally probably a war dance--was taken over a long
[534] time ago from Uvea. Tin cans have replaced the wooden drums formerly
[178] customary.

tau faka-niua:

is a dance very similar to the kailao but not more than about one-fourth of the Tongans (including especially the natives of Niua Toputapu) are experienced in it. The tau faka-niua differs from the
kailao by the fact that the dancers carry bamboo sticks rather than
[533] paddles. The rhythm here too is indicated by the beating of cans
(one to six); /correct/ beat is maintained by the use of pieces of
bamboo (notched to form four points).

The tau faka-niua may be danced at any time of day.

The tau faka-niua seems to be an old Tongan war dance from the
[534] island of Niua Toputapu. In former times wooden drums were used
[178] instead of tine cans.

/264 cont./

535 instead of tin cans.

eke:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged 12 to 70 years. The *eke* is a popular, but rather difficult dance; probably only about one-fourth of the natives have learned it.

The number of participants must be divisible by four, and consists generally of 4 to 20. The costumes of the dancers are the same as for the *kailao* (see above).

[533] /265/ One or two tin cans are beaten with sticks to accompany the *eke*. The natives dance in groups of four: two persons each carry (approximately 1.40 meter-long) *uhi* sticks (*Evodia hortensis* Forster var. *simplicifolia* [Rech.] K. Schumann) and two have shorter ones (approximately 0.60 meters). They beat with the short sticks and parry with the long ones.

The *eke* may be danced at any time of day.

[534] [178] The *eke* is perhaps an ancient Tongan war dance. Here too the tin cans probably replaced the wooden drums.

ula:

is danced only by girls and women from the ages of about 12 to 70. The *ula* is not easy and apparently not very popular. About one-fifth of all female Tongans have probably learned it.

[292] [177] In general, two to ten dancers take part. They wear *vala* and dance shirts made of black tapa (*ngatu 'uli*) trimmed with black-dyed leaves (also without leaf trimming; or "white" tapa trimmed with leaves; or hibiscus bast shirts [*kofu lou fau*] see pp. 84-85); to an increasing extent they also wear European-type clothing and *vala* made of European fabrics.

[533] The dancers stand in a row and, while singing to the accompaniment of a chorus (men and women) sitting behind them, they perform movements

/265 cont./

535 533 that are similar to those of the laka-laka (see above), but are slower. These movements apparently do not express the contents of the songs sung (for example, "sweet potatoes are good...", "yams will make us fat...").

535 The ula may be danced at any time of day.

[177] Even in ancient Tongan times the ula was one of the most important dances of these natives; possibly it was once borrowed from Samoa. (716)

716. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 329 ff.

A century and a half ago it was still a typical night dance. (717)

717. Ibid. pp. 330, 332.

Today the ula performance is no longer bound to a specific time, but has probably also been simplified throughout.

me'etu'upaki:

is danced by young and older male and female Tongans (but more by the former). The me'etu'upaki is not particularly popular because it is difficult. Probably about one-tenth of the natives have learned it.

Approximately 60 to 100 male and female dancers take part in it. [292] [177] All dancers are dressed alike; for example, they wear vala made of ngatu tahina, (718)

718. See pp. 328-331.

white European shirts (men) and white blouses (women).

[554] All participants hold short-stemmed dance paddles (approximately 80 centimeters long) in their right hands and stand in two (or more) rows (the sexes separated) (for example, 20 men and women respectively) with the highest-ranking and the chief male (female) dancers in the center of the first row (arrangement as for the laka-laka [see above]).

535 533 The singing of a chorus of men and women behind the rows (for example, about food: "If you do not plant you will be hungry...") and the reverberating sound of the lali(a wooden slit-drum, see pp. 390-392) accompany the dancers' movements which follow the rhythm and

/265 cont./

535 [533] apparently do not express the contents of the song.

/266/ The me'etu'upaki may be danced at any time of the day.

The me'etu'upaki is an ancient Tongan dance; early European visitors to the Archipelago already reported on it, for at that time it was one of the most important performances of the natives. (719)

719. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 205/206; J. J. Labillardiere, Relation du voyage.../Account of the voyage.../ II. p. 153; E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux...I. p. 293.

535 178 Today this dance is in danger of being forgotten.

To judge by the --albeit fragmentary--historical sources, the me'etu'upaki has by no means been handed down to the present time
[533] unchanged. For example, in early times no women and girls took part
[534] in it, and the short and thick nafa slit-drum beaten for it (720) is today replaced by the lali which is actually a signal slit-drum.

720. See J. Cook, loc. cit. VI. p. 205.

535 mako:

is danced by male and female Tongans aged approximately 20 to 60. Apparently not many Tongans master the mako. It is performed at kava-, birthday-, and wedding getherings, as well as on other festive occasions. Generally, only two or three individuals perform
[177] this dance. They wear European clothing.

[533] To the accompaniment of a song (which in the mako, unlike other dances, always has the same melody) sung by the audience (=chorus), the dancers perform similar, mutually coordinated movements (of the arms and the rest of the body, but keep more or less to the same spot), and utter cries and calls (for example: "murderer") which are supposed to terrify the audience.

The mako may be danced at any time of day.

The mako, which resembles a war dance (and perhaps once was one),

/266 cont./

535 is very old in Tonga. According to an otherwise well-informed Tonga,
[124] this dance was once upon a time taken over from Uvea.
(177) Today, as in the past, the Tongan dance is closely connected with
[538] poetry and music. (721)
[533]

721. In general, only dances recently written and composed (within the framework of the customary pattern) are practiced and performed.

Among the natives the desire to dance and the talent for dancing are still basically present. The list given above, which is by no means exhaustive, shows that some native dances are still known in Tonga. Once the natives practice a dance they take great pains and, on the basis of many rehearsals, strive to achieve a precision for which these natives were so very much praised in the past. In contrast to
[292] the customary everyday and festive clothing in which European fabrics
[177] predominate, (722)

722. See p. 67 ff.

the natives still use for their dances costumes of bast-cloth and bast (723)

723. Over European underwear.

that are probably similar to the traditional dance dress.

535 On the other hand, one must note that nowadays there are very
178 few ancient Tongan dances in the Archipelago, and that these very ones are seldom shown. They /267/ have also not been handed down unchanged; women and girls take part in such dance which once were apparently reserved for men; the separation into day and night dances has been forgotten, and it is to be presumed that the movements as well as the accompanying songs have also changed to a certain extent.
535 The borrowed dances are far more familiar and popular than the ancient
177 Tongan ones, and are thus more often performed. Yet this is to be traced back less to European influences than to the Tongan tendency

[No p. 404 in translated manuscript--Analyst]

/267 cont./

535 177 to take over and imitate something new. (724)

724. For data about the dances and dance songs borrowed from Samoa at the beginning of the previous centruy see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 330-333.

535 The dances today are also free from any religious meaning; on the
765 occasion of a death in the village the natives even refrain--in
177 Christian fashion--from any activity of this kind for several days.

535 European dances such as the foxtrot, the march, the slow waltz,
177 etc., are today also familiar to many Tongans.

Younger Tongans of both sexes from the age of approximately 14
[574] to 40 take part in these dances; on special occasions (for example, the visit of the High Commissioner in Nuku'alofa) older natives (for example [government] ministers) also dance at evening parties.

[527] In general, such "European dances" (hulo hula) take place on
[574] Constitution Day, when foreign visitors are being welcomed, when there is a wedding or a birthday celebration, especially in the chief towns, but even in the more remote villages of the large and small islands.

European dress is worn (for example, the cloth vala) and people dance (mainly in houses with wooden or cement floors) in couples to the playing of guitars (or violins, banjos, mandolins, etc.).

These European dances are given only in the evening.

535 The most important result of the development, however, is the
178 fact that today there is considerably less dancing than there was in ancient Tonga. The large native dances have to a great extent disappeared from public life. While at the end of the 18th century the
[574] Tongans could at all times entertain with excellent dance performances European seafarers who visited them unexpectedly, they will now only occasionally and with difficulty rehearse a few dances for large special occasions. The reason for this decline is doubtless the

535 /267 cont./ The reason for this decline is doubtless the
178 suppression of this art by the early Wesleyan missionaries; the restless
[792] times of the civil wars in the first half of the previous century may
[669] also have had a deterring effect. The more liberal /268/ views (726)

(794) 726. Even today the active members of the Wesleyan congregations may take part in dances only if their pastor gives them permission.

of recent times and the fact that today dances are taught in schools and are also presented at church festivals have not been able to revive this art to the height of the ancient times, for the original impulse, namely, the absolute power of the chiefs at whose command and for whom the dances were once practiced, has been too much weakened, and there is no other stimulaus that is as strong.

B. Games of Adults and Children

524 In ancient Tonga there were a great many different games (that is, activities that were carried out solely for pleasure).

524 Among adults, the chiefs and their matapule like to engage in
565 a hand-gesture game (liangi?) which had special rules; (727)

727. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 339-341; J.J. Labillardiere, Relation.../Account/ II. p. 146.

the lower classes were familiar with a similar, but simpler game (matua). (728)

728. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 344.

524 Other games, likewise subject to rules, with several participants, were
565 lafo, played only by the nobility (played with chips thrown on a
526 mat), (729)

729. For example, J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 343; E.W. Gifford, Tongan society, p. 117.

rat shooting (fana kuma) (a hunting game) (730)

730. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 279-284.

put on by the nobility, the spear target-throwing (tolo) (in which a

T
F /310 cont./ Likewise in
795 the ecclesiastical sphere conditions in both island groups are
177 similar insofar as /311/ there are likewise various denominations
in the Fiji Archipelago; (36)

36. Wesleyan Church, Roman Catholic Church, Adventists, Anglican Church, Presbyterians.

yet these natives have not come around to founding churches independently.

T
F In the field of art it can be noted that both song and instrumental
533 music as well as poetry and the dance have undergone changes (adoption
538 of European heritage, fusion of old and new, loss of ancient cultural
535 heritage) similar to those undergone by the corresponding arts of the
177 Tongans. Games too seem changed, as in Tonga.

T
F
524 In /the realm of general/ knowledge and hence in the Fijian con-
F ception of the world, European influences (especially schools and
872 churches) likewise have their effects. Almost every native child
177 today has an elementary school education--as in the Tonga Archipelago--and in general the children here too learn quite willingly. The system of transmitting European knowledge through schools is, however, limited since the effectiveness of some elementary schools still leaves much to be desired, and relatively few pupils have the
T opportunity for higher education. The Tongan educational system seems
871 somewhat more progressive in this respect, and actually offers too
T much schooling for conditions there. While in that Archipelago the
F young people who have successfully attended college and can find no
871 entrance to the higher professions devote themselves as a matter of
182 course to the farm work of their fathers, it is reported in this
T
[873]
[463] colony that those whose school education is completed largely scorn
F village life and, we are told, there is a "constant increase of a
[571] discontented class of half-educated youth" /cited in English/. (37)